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# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 328

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20 August 1982

# CHINA REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 328

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### MOSCOW'S PROPOSAL TO HALT WEAPON DEPLOYMENT DISCUSSED

Beijing SHIJIE ZHISHI (WORLD KNOWLEDGE) in Chinese No 8, 1982 pp 2-3

[Article by Zhang Gengchen [1728 1649 5691]: "Moscow's New Proposal"]

[Text] Not long ago, at the 17th Congress of Soviet Trade Unions, Brezhnev proclaimed that the Soviet Union would unilaterally put a temporary halt to the deployment of medium-range nuclear weaponry in Europe. The Soviet Union's propaganda machine was immediately set into motion and boasted that this proposal was "an excellent example of disarmament" and was "an important contribution to the peace movement." Actually, if we thoroughly analyze the substance of the present situation and the Soviet Union's proposal it is not difficult to see that it is a Soviet peace offensive wherein they make concessions to gain advantage: at the same time, it is a reflection of the weak nature of Soviet hegemonism.

Prior to the mid-1970's, the Soviet Union stressed that their conventional force superiority in Europe was offset by the nuclear force superiority of the United States in Europe and that NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization formed a certain balance of power. However, the western territories of the Soviet Union are under the threat of the United States' "advance base system" which it cannot accept. Therefore, the Soviet Union has stepped up its development of strategic weapons and will quickly overtake the United States. In 1977, the Soviet Union began to deploy the new SS-20 medium-range guided missiles in its European territories toward Western Europe. This type of guided missile has three separately guided nuclear warheads, it has a long range, its percentage of hits is high and thus it places the United States' nuclear system as well as the British and French nuclear force in immediate danger. At present, the Soviet Union has already deployed 300 SS-20 guided missiles which when fired just once can destroy nearly all of the NATO military targets. Thus, in the strategic nuclear balance between the United States and the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union is in the strategically key region of Europe has gained nuclear superiority. This fundamentally shakes NATO's "flexible reaction" strategy because this strategy is built on the basis of Western nuclear superiority and the mutual deterrent to the first use of nuclear weapons. While NATO was criticizing the Soviet Union for destroying parity in Europe, in December of 1979, they decided to deploy 572 American medium-range ballistic missiles in Europe. Although the United States claimed time and again that even though NATO deployed more than 500 guided missiles they could still not recover

"parity" because the Soviet Union had a 6:1 superiority in medium-range nuclear weapons. Yet, in reality, if the NATO resolution was completely implemented the United States would obtain nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union. This is because Soviet medium-range guided missiles cannot reach the United States but the American medium-range guided missiles can reach the Soviet Union. In this way, when the United States and the Soviet Union have an approximately equal number of intercontinental nuclear weapons, this is tantamount to the United States adding nearly 600 "strategic weapons." This is the reason why the United States insists on the deployment of medium-range guided missiles in Europe and why the Soviet Union desperately opposes it. Since 1979, the fight for nuclear superiority between the United States and the Soviet Union has become progressively tense in Europe. Moreover, the use of the peace offensive to split American-European relations was a very deliberate move by the Kremlin to destroy NATO's guided missile plans.

It is well known that within the Atlantic Alliance there is a divergence between Europe and the United States on the question of the deployment of medium-range guided missiles. Simply put, the United States places the deployment of the guided missiles before everything else, while Europe takes negotiations with the Soviet Union on limiting medium-range guided missiles in Europe by both sides as the most pressing matter. In addition, with the antiwar peace movement in Western European nations on the rise it is still not certain whether or not NATO's guided missile plans will be implemented. Given these circumstances, the Soviet Union's declaration of a temporary halt to deployment was without a doubt a resolute challenge to the United States. If Washington follows the example of the Soviet Union this is tantamount to freezing the situation with the Soviet Union having superiority; if Washington refuses this can cause greater dissatisfaction and opposition from its Western allies as well as the peace movement thus making NATO's deployment plans even more difficult to realize. Therefore, from the strategic point of view and its intrinsic qualities, Moscow's new proposal is not "an excellent example of establishing disarmament" but is a peace offensive wherein they make concessions in order to gain advantage.

However, from another angle, the struggle for nuclear superiority between the Soviet Union and the United States is not smooth sailing. Aside from the Europeans and people from nations throughout the world recognizing more clearly the Soviet Union's false disarmament and actual military expansion, there also exists serious difficulties and tremendous hazards before them. Moscow's new attitude is a reflection of its weak position.

Firstly, the future of the arms race is bumpy and the outcome is difficult to predict. The deadline is the end of 1983 and if the negotiations now being held in Geneva regarding disarmament in the central part of Europe are not able to reach an agreement, the United States will want to deploy Pershing II guided missiles and cruise missiles with a guarantee by Prime Minister Schmidt that West Germany will take the major burden for the deployment. As soon as the American medium-range guided missiles are deployed, the Soviet Union will

then be placed in a difficult position: either accept it or strike back. If the Soviet Union deploys SS-20 guided missiles to a region close to the United States (for example, in the Cuba region), this will very possibly touch off an international crisis. Therefore, the best plan for the Soviet Union is to consider all means which would cause NATO's plans for deployment to fall through. To attain this goal, it is also worthwhile to make small concessions. Moscow's new proposal reflects precisely the Kremlin's concern and anxiety.

Secondly, the enormous military spending has become a heavy burden on the economy of the Soviet Union. According to Western statistics, military spending takes up 13-15 percent of the Soviet Union's gross national product. Such a high proportion is rarely seen in peacetime. Brezhnev also recognizes that military spending "naturally demands an expenditure which cannot be reduced and which causes our plans for building peace to be lost." Recently, there have been repeatedly poor harvests in the Soviet Union and carrying the heavy burden of Afghanistan, Poland, Vietnam and Cuba, it has already reached a level in the deployment of guided missiles where the Soviet economy requires a temporary halt in the arms race.

Finally, various contradictions and differences within the Soviet Union's leading circles are also reflected in questions concerning nuclear arms policies. When we carefully read Brezhnev's remarks on the relation between military spending and the building of the economy we find that they are quite like a summary of an internal debate. The focus of the debate is how to handle the relation of the arms race and the building of the economy. According to foreign telegrams, Brezhnev's plan of "wanting guided missiles and also wanting butter" can actually not be realized with the result of "wanting guided missiles and not wanting butter." This has caused unrest within the leadership and dissatisfaction among the Soviet people so that the general secretary himself has to carry out appeasement. Moscow's new proposal was produced upon this type of domestic background.

Even though this be the case, if the Soviet Union does not change its hegemonistic policies it will still vie with the United States for nuclear superiority. It will also be unable to wake up and escape disaster at the last moment in the arms race.

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CSO: 4005/960

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### RECENT SOVIET-IRANIAN RELATIONS REVIEWED

Beijing SHIJIE ZHISHI (WORLD KNOWLEDGE) in Chinese No 8, 1982 pp 3-4

[Article by Yuan Jizhi [0337 0679 0037]: "New Developments in Soviet-Iranian Relations"]

[Text] Recently, foreign newspapers and periodicals have successively reported new changes in Soviet-Iranian relations in recent peace talks. What changes have there actually been in these relations?

Firstly, the political and diplomatic climate between these two nations has relaxed. In the past, while the leaders of Iran's Government denounced the United States they also denounced the Soviet Union calling both nations "Satans" and "demonic superpowers." After the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan, the Iranian Government even mentioned that "the peril from the north" is "the most dangerous." Recently, however, criticism of the Soviet Union by the Iranian Government has decreased and friendly speeches have increased. The present prime minister, Musavi-Khamen-i, has said: "We do not see any hostility from the Soviet Union." The minister of foreign affairs, Velayati, indicated that the development of Soviet-Iranian relations "will have no limitations." At the same time, there has been an increase in the number of Iranian Government officials and delegations which have visited the Soviet Union. The number of Soviet diplomatic personnel in Iran has also continually increased and they have become the largest foreign embassy in Iran.

In 1979, when Iran declared the abolishment of the American-Iranian mutual defense agreement, they also abolished articles 5 and 6 of the 1921 Iranian-Soviet treaty (to mutually agree not to allow organizational or individual activity in one's own territory with the aim of opposing the other side. The Soviet Union had the right to send troops into Iranian territory when it felt there was a danger). After this, when the Soviet Union mentioned that the Iranian-Soviet treaty was still effective, the Iranian Government made repeated refutations. Now, Iran is no longer making rebukes as it had done in the past.

Secondly, Iran's economy and trade relations are gradually picking up. Around the time of the Iranian revolution, most of the items of aid from the Soviet Union to Iran were cut off. Afterwards, they were successively restored. In



February of this year, these two nations signed a new agreement for economic cooperation with new items added. There are now over 150 items of aid. There were originally only about 700 Soviet technicians remaining in Iran but now this number has increased to more than 2,000. Foreign publications report that "Russians are beginning to occupy administrative and technical positions in Iran's power stations, ports, railroads, iron and steel industry and oil refineries. The Soviet-Iranian volume of trade has risen from \$900 million in 1978 to \$1.1 billion last year. Iran's export of oil to the Soviet Union has also been restored and last year the volume was 2.2 million tons of crude oil. Negotiations between Iran and the Soviet Union on the question of resuming exports of natural gas to the Soviet Union are being held. The quantity of goods transported from the Soviet Union to Iran has also increased and it is estimated that last year this quantity accounted for one-third of Iran's total commodity imports.

Third, the military relations between the two nations have been strengthened without official disclosure. Speaker of the Majlis Rafsanjani of Iran indicated that Iran plans to gradually replace American-made weapons with Soviet-made weapons. Foreign telegrams report: the Soviet Union has continuously supplied weapons to both sides of the Iranian-Iraqi war; military advisors from the Soviet Union have infiltrated Iran's Army and the Islamic Revolutionary Guard. TASS has also reported that "nearly 1,000 military advisors have visited Iran." Foreign telegrams have also reported that the Soviet Union has already sent KGB personnel to help set up an intelligence mechanism to train secret police and secret service personnel.

Why is it that these changes can occur in Soviet-Iranian relations?

From the Iranian side, although its foreign policy boasts of "not wanting the East or the West," yet due to historical and practical reasons, Iran actually views the United States as the archenemy and main object of attack. This anti-Americanism has given a political basis to the development of relations between the Soviet Union and Iran. Furthermore, the relations between other Western nations and Iran are in a state of indifference and stagnation and the relations between many Arab and Islamic nations and Iran are also poor. Therefore, Iran is relatively isolated diplomatically and it very much desires to change this situation.

Economically, there is an embargo by the West toward Iran. The heavy burden of the Iranian-Iraqi war, the drop in production and financial difficulties have forced Iran to seek a way out by turning to the Soviet Union. Originally, 80 percent of Iran's industrial raw materials and parts depended on Western supplies. Because of the embargo and the fact that a large number of foreign and Iranian experts left Iran, factory utilization is one one-third. Iran must seek these supplies from the Soviet Union and East European nations. After the Iranian-Iraqi war caused Iran's southern ports to close, Iran increased its use of land transportation from the Soviet Union for foreign trade. Iran has a shortage of foreign currency and they have been forced to develop barter trade. Iran's trade with the Soviet Union and East Europe of bartering oil for goods has also quickly developed.

From the Soviet Union's side, because of Iran's strategic location and the advantageous conditions of the proximity of the Soviet Union and Iran, Iran has always been one of the set objectives of the Soviet Union's southern strategy. According to foreign analyses, the Soviet Union thinks that "gradual takeover is more advantageous to the Soviet Union than a direct military occupation." Therefore, since the Iranian revolution, the Soviet Union has been quietly waiting for an opportunity to arrive. Now they think the opportunity has arrived. In March of this year, PRAVDA said with a complacent tone that "the tremendous objective possibility of developing Soviet-Iranian relations should be realized at this time."

Due to mutual need, Soviet-Iranian relations will possibly further develop in the future. However, relations between these two nations are restrained by a series of factors and its development will also have certain limitations.

First, the Soviet Union is deploying 24 divisions of troops on the Soviet-Iranian border and Iran has always been vigilant about the danger of Soviet subversion.

Foreign opinions consider that the Soviet Union is doubtful as to the stability of the present Iranian regime. They have fixed their eyes on the future. "They maintain official channels between governments," "think of ways to obtain the most obtainable maximum benefit at present," "but do not abandon other means whether direct or indirect, whether open or secret." "They maintain relations with the various forces and groups which are of possible future use." Aside from the accomplishments of the ruling power (the Islamic Republican Party), the Soviet Union maintains a prudent attitude or "avoids criticizing" or "suggests sympathy" toward antigovernment organizations such as the [People's Holy Fighters] and the Kurdistan Democratic Party. The Soviet Union maintains a contradiction between Iran's minorities such as the Kurds, Azerbaijani, Turkmen, Baluchis and the Khuzistan Arabs, and the central government. The Soviets wait for opportunities to use them and also secretly provide weapons and aid to antigovernment organizations among these minorities. The Soviet Union intensifies, fosters and expands the power of the Iranian [People's Party] which is close to the Soviet Union and uses them to infiltrate the government mechanism and to support inner party and antigovernment organizations. To sum up, the Soviet Union "maintains various choices."

The Khomeini government cannot but be on guard in regard to all of this. Although they have now improved relations with the Soviet Union, they still stress maintaining Iranian independence and sovereignty as well as "not becoming a dependency of a superpower." Iran's minister of foreign affairs said: "We (with the Soviet Union) have built economic and commercial relations yet this does not signify that we endorse the Soviet Union's policies throughout the world." Historically, Russia has invaded Iran many times and has carved out spheres of influence in Iran. The Iranian people are not well disposed toward a new tsar. These are all obstacles to Soviet ambitions.

Second, there is a great contradiction between the Soviet Union and Iran on the Afghanistan problem. After the Soviet Union sent troops to Afghanistan, Iran was deeply concerned about the danger to itself and denounced the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan as an imperialist action. Iran did not recognize the puppet government of Karmal and supported Afghanistan's resistance movement.

Third, to date, Iran still maintains a great deal of economic connections with the West. This is something the Soviet Union cannot completely replace. According to materials published by the Iranian Government, before the revolution Iran imported 81 percent of its total imports from the West, now 66 percent, and trade with the Soviet Union and East European nations does not count for 9.5 percent of Iran's total trade. Economically, Iran cannot lean toward the Soviet Union.

Furthermore, according to reports, there are varying views within Iran's ruling clique concerning the problem of developing relations with the Soviet Union. Some people see the development of relations with the Soviet Union as an expedient plan for relieving present difficulties; some think that this is a tact to strengthen Iran's position when dealing with the West; some think that even if the Iranians stress the principle of "separating politics and economics," the present development of Sino-Iranian relations will make it advantageous for the Soviet Union to make further infiltrations which will cause future trouble and anxiety, and thus Iran should be careful in handling matters.

To sum up, Soviet-Iranian relations are delicate and even though there are areas of mutual benefit there are also contradictions which are not easily eliminated. Iran's tendency will directly affect the Middle East situation and the global struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union. This cannot but draw international attention.

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CSO: 4005/961

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### NEW SITUATION, IMPACT OF IRANIAN-IRAQI WAR NOTED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 4 Jun 82 p 7

[Article by Chen Jichang (7115 4480 2490): "The New Situation in the Iranian-Iraqi War and Its Impact"]

[Text] On 24 May, the Iranian armed forces recaptured the strategic city of Khorramshahr in Khuzistan Province with the result that the war between Iran and Iraq, which has continued for one year and eight months, has entered a "crucial" stage.

At present, except for a narrow zone along the western border, Iran has basically recaptured all of the land that it lost and has restored its borders to their state before the war. How will the war develop? Will Iran be able to cross the border and take the war into Iraq's territory? Is there any possibility that there will be a turn for the better in their conduct and that the two sides can cease fighting and make peace? These are questions to which everyone is giving close attention at present.

Recently, the leaders of Iran and the official media have clearly stated that Iran wants the present Iraq regime to step out of power as the condition for bringing the war between Iran and Iraq to a conclusion. On 27 May, the Supreme State Committee of Iran held a meeting, after which the speaker of the Majlis, Rafsanjani, said at a meeting at Tehran that Iran "can never stop on this side of the border and not merely ask that the other side make compensation for the war." Shirazi, the chief of staff of the Iranian Army, said in a speech: "Iran will soon put into effect its plans for stopping the Iraqi army from shelling Iranian cities from within Iraq territory." At the same time, several Iranian newspapers openly advocated that Iran send troops to Iraq. On the basis of this, a number of Western observers believe that Iranian propaganda "implies" that the Iranian army may cross the border and invade Iraq. However, there is a number of other Western observers who believe that Iran has considered the fact that sending troops into Iraq would have serious consequences at the international level and that Iran may be willing to accept mediation starting from the present favorable situation.

The expansion of the battlefield situation has led to great repercussion among the Arab states. The gulf states feel particularly worried and anxious. They are

worried that the westward shift in the battlefield may further affect the stability and safety of the gulf region. If Iran takes advantage of their military victory to export her Islamic revolution, this will bring about even greater stress and anxiety within these nations. Therefore, the gulf states hope that there will be an early conclusion to the war between Iran and Iraq. On 15 May, the foreign ministers of the six gulf states held an emergency meeting. Following the meeting, Foreign Minister al-Faysal of Saudi Arabia visited Syria and Algeria. According to a report, Al-Faysal asked Syria and Algeria, which maintain friendly relations with Iran, to persuade Iran to "adopt an attitude of restraint" and to enter into negotiations to resolve the dispute between the two countries. On 30 and 31 May, the foreign ministers of the six gulf states held another emergency meeting to discuss the current situation in the war between Iran and Iraq, to coordinate the positions of their six nations and to appeal to Iran to accept a cease-fire proposal. According to a most recent report by a Western news agency, the gulf states, which have already provided Iraq with about \$US 20 billion in aid and loans, are willing to give Iran \$US 25 billion as an encouragement to Iran to bring the war to an end.

The situation in the gulf and the need for safety have prompted the gulf states to again seek to establish friendly relations with Egypt. However, the unaligned Arab states oppose reconciliation with Egypt at the present time. On 24 May, the foreign ministers of the unaligned states held a conference in Algeria which they stated that they would support Iran's "friendly revolution," that they wanted to "frustrate the aim of the attempt to restore relations with Egypt" and they opposed intervention in the Iran-Iraq war by the Arab states. However, according to the report, the unaligned states do not advocate that Iran cross their border with Iraq. At an interview with Western reporters, the vice minister of foreign affairs of Syria stated that if Iran invaded Iraq Syria might discontinue its support of Iran.

The new situation in the Iran-Iraq war also drew the close attention of the two superpowers. An official spokesman for the United States stated that the United States would not allow the conflict between Iran and Iraq or any great nation threaten the safety of the gulf and the interests of the United States in the gulf. The Soviet Union, for its part, has a "treaty of friendly relations" with Iraq and has expanded its trade cooperation with Iran during the course of the Iran-Iraq war. The Soviet Union has continuously engaged in quiet behind-the-scenes activities in the attempt to have both sides come to it and thus to cause the situation to develop in a way that would facilitate intervention on the part of the Soviet Union.

At present, the United Nations Organization of Islamic States and the Organization of Nonaligned States have stated that they will resume their activities in mediating in the Iran-Iraq war. The Chairman of the Islamic Good Offices Committee, Ahmad Sekou Toure, has written letters to the leaders of Iran and Iraq stating that he is willing to renew his efforts to mediate the conflict between the two countries. The secretary general of the Organization of Islamic Conferences, Chatti, has also conducted a series of shuttle visits between the two countries. How the Iran-Iraq war will develop is a question worthy of our further observation.

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CSO: 4005/953

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### ISRAELI ACTIONS IN LEBANON CONDEMNED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 10 Jun 82 p 7

[Article by Yu Kaiyuan (0827 7030 0337): "Israel Thoroughly Reveals Its Expansionist Ambition"]

[Text] On 4 June, the government authorities of Israel conducted a savage bombing of Beirut, wounding or killing more than 600 innocent citizens. Two days later, the Israel government conducted a massive sea, land and air invasion of southern Lebanon. The Begin government on the one hand claimed that the objective of this action was to see to it that the northern border of Israel "would be far beyond the range of Palestinian artillery fire" and to drive the Palestinian armed forces "40 kilometers" beyond the border of Israel. On the other hand, it also stated that it "does not have any expansionist ambitions" against Lebanon and that Israel "respects" the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon.

At present, the invading Israeli army has not only trampled the entire southern part of Lebanon underfoot but it has also approached the suburbs of Beirut, which is at a distance of more than 80 kilometers from the northern border of Israel. In addition, they have continued in their advance toward the northern region of Lebanon. It can be seen that the statements by the Israeli government of so-called "limited action" and "respect" for sovereignty are nothing but lies for the purpose of covering up their aggressive and expansionist actions.

What then are the intentions of the Israeli government? According to a statement by a leading Israeli quoted by Radio Israel, Israel cannot accept the resolution of the Security Council and that the invading army would "remain" in Lebanon until the "political solution" that Israel wants has been realized. The essence of Israel's so-called "political solution" is that the Syrian army leave Lebanon, that the Palestinian armed forces not return to southern Lebanon and that a "free zone" under the control of United Nations troops be established within an area 40 kilometers to the north of Israel's border. This is in actuality an attempt to extend the territory of Israel into southern Lebanon by means of long-term occupation.

It is Begin's calculation that, by using up the effective strength of the Palestinian forces in a massive amounts, he can force the Palestinians to "reside as

quests" in northern Lebanon and to accept negotiations for Palestinian autonomy. As the result, the Palestinian revolution would be eliminated. This would pave the way for future formal annexation of the West Bank of the Jordan River and of the Gaza Strip by Israel.

It is not by chance that Israel chose this time to launch a large-scale invasion of Lebanon. After Egypt had completely recovered the Sinai, the Arab states and international public opinion wanted a formal solution of the Middle East problem and the call for restoration of the legal rights of the Palestinian people grew louder day by day. However, there are still differences of opinion among the Arab states on such problems as dealing with the Iran-Iraq war and restoration of relations with Egypt. Israel knew that there was an opportunity of which it could take advantage and launched this large-scale military invasion in the hope of creating a new fait accompli and of forcing the Arab states to give in.

However, history has its own laws of development. The Palestinian revolution will never be stamped out by Israel's military force and the Palestinians will never accept loss of their "sovereignty" over half of their country. Prime Minister al-Wazzani of Lebanon has justly refuted the logic of Israel's invasion and has stated that he has resolved to mobilize all of his forces to attack the invaders. If the Israeli Government stubbornly maintains its position of expansionism and invasion, this can only lead to even more intense opposition by the peoples of the entire world.

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CSO: 4005/953

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### REPORT, COMMENT ON ISRAELI ACTIVITIES ON WEST BANK

Beijing SHIJIE ZHISHI [WORLD KNOWLEDGE] in Chinese No 10 pp 5-6

[Article by Yuan Yin [5913 0995]: "Israel's Annexation of Jordan's West Bank"]

[Text] Under domestic and foreign coercion, Israel finally gave back the Sinai Peninsula. In contrast to this are Israel's actions on Jordan's West Bank. When they were still signing the Camp David accords, Israel expansionists determined not to allow the West Bank to be part of the agreement on Sinai. From that time on, the Israeli authorities deliberately intensified their plans to annex the West Bank. This past winter and spring continued incidents occurred resulting in frequent unrest on the West Bank. The unrest climaxed during the last 10 days of March of this year. To oppose Israel's colonial and annexation policies the inhabitants of the cities and towns on the West Bank held strikes, shopkeepers' strikes and demonstrations. The Israeli authorities dispatched military police and brutally put down the strikes and demonstrations. In the last half of March alone, seven Palestinians were killed and many people were injured. The Israeli atrocities were strongly condemned by the entire world.

There has been continual unrest on the West Bank which indicates the struggle against oppression and annexation by the inhabitants of the West Bank. It is also the inevitable result brought on by Israeli's reactionary policies.

The West Bank is an area of 5,900 square kilometers with a population of about 800,000. It was originally part of Jordan. After World War I it was mandated to Great Britain. In 1947, the United Nations proposed the "Resolution for the Separate Rule of Palestine" and set up the West Bank as an Arab nation. In 1948, after the first Middle East war, it was controlled by Jordan. For almost 15 years, since the third Middle East war in 1967, the West Bank has been occupied by Israel. The Israeli authorities have consistently pursued a colonial policy there. They have made preparations to formally annex territory, determined to make the West Bank a component part of "Greater Israel." What are the major measures they have adopted?

1. While having a large number of people migrate to the West Bank they have also wantonly driven the Arabs out of the area trying their best to make the West Bank Jewish. When former Israeli Prime Minister Meir was in power, she had said that "Jewish people must occupy the West Bank and settle there



forever. This can be an area with only a minimum of Arabs." All previous Israeli governments have carried out this policy. Early immigrant settlements which were set up in the Jordan River valley wilderness and high mountain areas were paramilitary outposts. After Begin assumed power migration was accelerated. Settlements were established around the Arab cities and towns; this was actually designed to split up and encircle the Arab regions. Before Begin was in office there were only 32 immigrant settlements but now this has increased to more than 80. There are already over 20,000 immigrants and there are also plans to establish 46 more immigrant settlements on the West Bank, partly with Israeli is who withdrew from the Sinai. The Begin Government has also constructed roads and set up public water and electric facilities in the settlements so that these locations will be joined to Israel itself. When Sharon was minister of agriculture he said: In order to preclude the establishment of a Palestinian state on the West Bank it is only necessary to build settlements there."

On the other hand, the Israeli authorities have used various means to drive the Arabs out. For example, requisition and confiscation of land, destruction of houses, destruction of crops and forced removal. According to statistics, 17,000 Palestinians are driven out of their West Bank homes annually. The Palestinians who remain in the West Bank suffer political and economic oppression.

2. Military rule has been changed to "civil administration" and this has further intensified the persecution of Palestinian leaders on the West Bank. For more than 10 years, Israel has implemented military rule on the West Bank. Last August, Minister of Defense Sharon proposed a "new policy," to replace the military authorities with a "civil government." the goal of changing the means of rule is to lure a portion of the Palestinian into participating in the "self-rule" mechanism worked out by Israel so as to divide the Palestinian ranks. The leader of the "civil government" is a military official without military dress. In the past Meyerson, the first commanding officer of the "civil government" was an advisor to the military yet he also had the titles of "professor of Arab literature" and "expert on Arab problems." He took office last November. As the saying goes "when a new official takes office three fires are started" and so he immediately set about purging and reorganizing the city and town committees of the West Bank which were popularly elected in 1967. There were originally 30 cities and towns on the West Bank and about half of their major leaders supported the PLO politically, while a small number had close ties with Jordan. All of them refused to cooperate with the "civil government." There were very few who were willing to cooperate with the "civil government." The "civil government" implemented an "iron hand" policy. On 18 March of this year, Meyerson ordered that the municipal committee of Bilei on the West Bank be dissolved and reappointed military officials to take over. Further, the mayoral positions of Shak'ah, [Natshah] and [the mayor of Ramallah] were rescinded and also possibly 20 mayors were recalled. This large dissolving of municipal committees was the first of its kind in 15 years. Minister of Defense Sharon said: "This is the first major battle since establishing Israel in 1948."

3. They organized "village alliances" to draw in the farmers so that they would cooperate with the "civil government" as well as to resist and weaken the influence of the PLO. Sixty-five percent of the population on the West

Bank are farmers. To counter the influence of the PLO and Jordan on the farmers, the Israeli authorities decided to establish the "village alliances" in 1979. To try to win support the Israeli authorities gave the farmers petty favors such as providing payments for goods, improving communications and transportation conditions and starting irrigation facilities. To date, 5 "village alliances" have been set up and the largest is allegedly supported by 74 villages. After Meyerson took office he not only provided the Jewish settlements with money and guns but also actively promoted the "village alliances," organized farmer self-defense forces and enlarged the power of the "village alliances."

The series of measures for the West Bank by the Begin government were enacted to gradually annex the West Bank. According to the Camp David accords, the West Bank should implement full self-rule and after 5 years its future should be decided by its inhabitants. This agreement did not explicitly mention "self-determination" and this caused dissatisfaction among the inhabitants of the West Bank. Yet, the Begin government has also not granted the "self-rule" stipulated in the accords. He has consistently regarded the West Bank as Israeli's "liberated territory." Last August at the second forming of his cabinet, he explicitly stated: Israel will regain sovereignty over the West Bank and Gaza." It is therefore obvious that the Begin government's participation in the Palestinian autonomy talks are perfunctory and without the slightest bit of sincerity. According to foreign news analyses, if the Israeli and Egyptian talks on Palestinian self-rule break down, the Begin government will possibly declare that it will not accept the restraints of the Camp David accords and publicly proclaim the annexation of the West Bank.

The annexation policies of the Begin government are not only opposed and condemned internationally but have also met with opposition within Israel by Arab citizens and Jewish antiwar organizations. They can only bring new unrest to the West Bank and the entire Middle East.

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### ARTICLE REVIEWS DUTCH CABINET CRISIS

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 5 Jun 82 p 6

[Article by Ma Weimin (7456 3634 3046): "A Perspective on the Dutch Cabinet Crisis"]

[Text] After more than two weeks of tense consultations, the prime minister of the Netherlands, Mr van Agt, completed reorganization of the cabinet on 28 May. On the following day, five new ministers took their oaths of office and the crisis in the Dutch government was brought to a close. However, the Christian Democratic Appeal [CDA] and the Democratic Party (66) which constitute the new cabinet account for 65 of the 150 seats in the parliament, thus occupying a minority position. Thus, they can only rely temporarily on the support of the People's Party for Freedom and Democracy [VVD], which is the opposition party, in maintaining the situation for a short time and the date for the general election has been moved up to September of this year.

The direct cause that led to this government crisis was that six ministers of the Labor Party, which was one of the principal parties in power, on 12 May rejected the plan proposed by the two other parties in power, and the CDA and the Democratic Party (66) on reducing budget expenditures. Thereupon, they resigned as a group. This incident is a concrete reflection of the severe economic difficulties in which the Netherlands now finds itself and of the profound differences that exist in regard to economic policy among the three ruling parties.

The economic recession that envelops the entire Western world has also plagued the Netherlands. At present, the number of unemployed persons in the nation as a whole exceeds 500 thousand. This is a record postwar high and accounts for 11% of the total labor force, an increase of 50% within a year. At the same time, because of the economic recession, the government's tax revenues have decreased and there is a large financial deficit. In 1973, the financial deficit amounted to 1.5% of the value of the gross national product, whereas at present it accounts for up to 10% of the value. In the face of this situation, the CDA and the Labor Party proposed two totally different "prescriptions." The former advocated cutting government expenditures in order to decrease the financial deficit, while the latter requested an increase in government expenditures in order to create new opportunities for employment and to alleviate

the severe unemployment problem. The dispute between the two sides was concentrated on and reflected in plans to formulate the annual budget for 1982-1983. For a year, controversy has been developing within the government around this problem. Some people believe, in accordance with the position of the CDA, that cutting expenditures this year and next year by close to \$US 5 billion would only be able to make up for one-fifth of the accumulated deficit of last year and that it goes without saying there would be a new deficit. If precedence is given to solving the unemployment problem following the plan of the Labor Party, only an inadequate number of 20 thousand opportunities for employment would be opened up under present conditions. This is clearly utterly inadequate in the face of the large army of 500 thousand unemployed. Thus, it can be seen that whatever the prescription, it will be difficult to save the Dutch economy from the stubborn illness of recession.

Because the economic policies of the CDA and the Labor Party are diametrically opposed to each other, the coalition government has been for the past year with the internal contradiction of a "cabinet crisis," a specter that has been hovering over the Dutch political scene. After the general election in May of last year, in order to organize a coalition government consisting of the CDA, the Labor Party and the Democratic Party (66), bargaining went on among the three parties for over three months. After a number of twists and turns, a coalition government under Prime Minister van Agt was finally formed by September. No sooner had the new government been sworn in than it presented its resignation to the Queen in October because of the dispute over the question of the budget. After more than 20 days of tense consultation and of using every means to close the rift, they finally managed with effort to keep the government together. However, after somewhat over three months, a dispute again arose within the government over the long-standing major problem of the budget. By April, it was thought that a compromise had been reached. Then, in mid-May, the collective resignation of the six Labor Party ministers occurred, an incident that finally brought about the collapse of the cabinet. Serious dissension within the government and instability of position have been marked characteristics of the political situation of the Netherlands for the past year.

Another factor that has affected changes in the political situation in the Netherlands has been changes in the strengths of the major political parties over the past year. The most obvious of these has been the power of the Labor Party. The Labor Party was originally the leading major party in the parliament. However, after the general election of May last year, it fell behind the CDA into second place. In March of this year, provincial parliamentary elections were held in which the Labor Party further lost ground and the VVD enjoyed an increase to the point where it surpassed the Labor Party. This was the first time that this has happened in the postwar history of the Netherlands. In order to safeguard unity within the party and its own position, the Labor Party, under pressure from the CDA, had no choice but to resign collectively and withdraw from the cabinet confrontation.

At present, a cabinet consisting of the minority factions of the CDA and the Democratic Party (66) has already been formed. Prime Minister Van Agt of the CDA basically advocates joint execution of power together with the opposition VVD. The decision by the VVD to support a government

of minority factions in the parliament may be a prelude to its entry into the cabinet. Public opinion polls indicate that the former structure of 1977-1981 of the Netherlands government may be restored as the result of the general election with the CDA and the VVD once again holding joint power and with a so-called center-right- regime appearing. When the time comes, there may be a number of new changes in the domestic and foreign policies of the Netherlands.

10019

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### SOCIALIST, SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT IN EUROPE DISCUSSED

Tianjin GUOJI WENTI YANJIU (JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES) in Chinese No 2, April 1982 pp 50-54

[Article by Xu Zongshi [1776 1350 1102] and Zhuang Jianming [8369 1696 2494]: "About the Socialist International and Social Democratic Parties in Europe"]

[Text] The Socialist International is an international organization of social democratic parties, socialist parties, and labor parties. It is an important political force in the contemporary world, particularly in Western Europe.

#### 1. Organization of the Socialist International

The Second International, formed in 1899 in Paris, is regarded as the earliest international organization of socialist parties. In its initial period, the International played a positive role in the workers movements. Later, with the rapid rise of opportunism within the organization, it was gradually divided into three factions, with the rightists and the "centrist" revisionists occupying positions of leadership. With the outbreak of World War I, most of the social democratic parties of the Second International backed their own bourgeois governments in the imperialist war and thus were reduced to social chauvinist parties. Eventually the Second International became totally discredited and ceased to exist. In 1923 the Labor and Socialist International was founded in Hamburg; its activities ended with the outbreak of World War II. In 1944 the British Labor Party took the initiative to reinstitute the international organization of Socialist parties. In 1947, socialist parties met in Antwerp, Belgium, and formed a "Committee for the International Conference of Socialist Parties" to prepare for the conference. On 30 June 1951, at the International Socialist Congress held in Frankfurt, West Germany, the Socialist International was formally established. A manifesto -- "The Aims and Tasks of Democratic Socialism" -- was adopted at the congress, and the Socialist International was hailed as the successor to the Second International and the Labor and Socialist International, as the international organization of social democratic parties, socialist parties and labor parties of the world.

The supreme body of the Socialist International is the Congress, which convenes every 2 years. Up to 1980, 15 congresses had been held. The Congress' main functions are to proclaim the International's principles, determine its statutes, elect its president, vice presidents, and secretary-general, vote by a two-thirds

majority on the admission and expulsion of members, and decide on their places in the International. When the Congress is not in session, the everyday business is handled by the Council, the Executive Board, and the secretariat. The present president is Willy Brandt, chairman of the West German Social Democratic Party. Under the president there are 10 vice presidents. The present general secretary is B. Carlson. The International is headquartered in London. Important figures of the International include Willy Brandt and Helmut Schmidt of West Germany, Francois Mitterrand of France, Bruno Kreisky of Austria, and Olof Palme of Sweden.

The International has four kinds of members: formal member parties, advisory parties, fraternal organizations and corresponding organizations. There are 15 million members.

1. Of the 43 formal member parties, 22 are in Europe -- the Austrian Socialist Party, the Belgian Socialist Party, the Danish Social Democratic Party, the Finnish Social Democratic Party, the French Socialist Party, the West German Social Democratic Party, the British Labor Party, the Icelandic Social Democratic Party, the Irish Labor Party, the Italian Social Democratic Party, the Italian Socialist Party, the Luxembourg Socialist Workers Party, the Maltese Labor Party, the Netherlands Labor Party, the North Ireland Labor Party, the North Ireland Social Democratic Party, the Norwegian Labor Party, the Portuguese Socialist Party, the San Marino United Socialist Party, the Spanish Socialist Labor Party, the Swedish Social Democratic Workers Party, and the Swiss Social Democratic Party. The 11 formal member parties in Latin America include the Argentine People's Socialist Party, the Chilean Radical Party, the Costa Rican National Liberation Party, the Dominican Revolutionary Party and the Jamaican People's National Party. The two African member parties are the Mauritius Labor Party and the Senegalese Socialist Party. The two member parties in Oceania are the Australian Labor Party and the New Zealand Labor Party. The two members in North America are the Canadian New Democratic Party and the U.S. Committee of Socialist Organizations. The four members in Asia are the Japanese Socialist Party, the Japanese Social Democratic Party, the Israeli Labor Party, and the South Korean United Socialist Party.

2. The 10 advisory parties include the Cypriot United Democratic Central Alliance, the Paraguayan Revolutionary Party, the Venezuelan Democratic Action Party and some parties in exile.

3. The five corresponding organizations include the Workers Zionist Movement, the Jewish Workers Alliance, and the Central Eastern European Socialist Alliance.

4. The two fraternal organizations are the International Council of Socialist Women and the International Alliance of Socialist Youth.

## II. Policy Concepts of the Socialist International

The policy concepts of the Socialist International are contained in its main programmatic documents -- the manifesto "The Aims and Tasks of Democratic Socialism" adopted at the founding Congress in July 1951 and the manifesto "Today's World: the Future of Socialism" adopted in the summer of 1962. Basically its policy concepts are as follows:

1. Advocating the "democratic socialist" path. As stated by Uris Brawendal, theorist and former secretary of the Socialist International, "Marxism was the dominant ideology of the Second International before World War II," but in the post war era "reformism has become the dominant ideology of the Socialist International. The ideology that guides the post war policies of all the parties of the Socialist International is based on reformism." Since the 1950's the International has adopted "democratic socialism" as its ideology, advocating "the expansion of personal freedoms under economic prosperity and a growing system of social insurance, liberating people from their dependence on the few who own or control the means of production," "giving economic power to all the people," creating a society "in which free people can work together as equals." The common objective of social democratic parties is to "establish a free new society with democratic means." Only this free, democratic society can really guarantee that (1) every person has a right to private life, inviolable by the state; (2) political freedoms such as freedom of thought, speech, education, association and religious belief are protected; (3) people have the universal, equal and secret right to vote and to freely elect their own representatives; (4) government is organized by the majority party, and the rights of the minority parties are respected; and (5) all citizens regardless of their class origin, sex, language, faith or color are equal before law. Such socialism will be "democracy of the highest order." And to realize such socialism, one needs only to "reform" and "improve" the existing capitalist system, "legitimizing the existing form of political power in a democratic way" and linking it with "gradual reforms: and "the democratization of society."

2. Advocating a universal welfare system, adopting a mixed system of private enterprise, free competition and the nationalization of the main branches of industry.

In countries where the social democratic parties are in power, the Keynesian economic theories are much in vogue, with emphasis on welfarism, "nationalization," and expanding state intervention in economic activities. During economic recessions, measures such as increasing government expenditures, reducing taxes and lowering the banks' interest rates are used to stimulate demand and promote production and prosperity. To counter inflation, measures such as cutting back on government expenditures, increasing taxes and raising interest rates are used. The welfare policies consist mainly of the following:

- (1) Expanding the system of state ownership, establishing state management over certain production sectors and service industries;
- (2) Using a variety of means to regulate the private economy, reducing unemployment and preventing economic crises;
- (3) Regulating the national income through progressive taxation and broader welfare coverage, making welfare "universal";
- (4) Making state organs responsible for providing the citizens with occupational, intellectual and moral education and for providing cultural and educational facilities;



These policy measures have produced certain results in certain periods, but they have also created problems. The huge welfare expenditures, for example, account for a greater part of the annual industrial output of welfare states, so that some socialist governments are compelled to borrow heavily from abroad to support their massive welfare programs.

3. Adopting a foreign policy line of "detente," "coexistence" and "disarmament" and of European integration. In the initial postwar period, the United States was Europe's main source of competition and conflict. Hence the Common Market of the six Western European countries to counter the United States. But when Soviet expansionism became the main threat to the world, the aims of Western European integration changed. Many social democratic parties have called for building up an independent national defense, consolidating the unity of the NATO countries, strengthening Western European defenses, and expanding the European Community. But not all social democratic parties have acted the same, due to their different positions and interests, especially since higher defense expenditures run counter to economic welfare. Thus in East-West relations, political "detente" and economic benefits have often become important factors which the social democratic parties must consider in making policy. Since the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the Western European socialist party leaders, while unanimously condemning the Soviet aggression, have advocated "establishing peaceful coexistence between the powers," believing this is the only way to remove the "cold-war atmosphere" between them.

### III. Role of Social Democratic Parties in European Politics

There are three main political forces on the European political stage today, competing with each other for influence. They are: 1) New Conservatism; 2) European Social Democracy; 3) Eurocommunism. In recent years New Conservatism has been on the rise and Eurocommunism has been attracting public attention, but Social Democracy is still playing an important role.

1. Parties which hold government power alone: the Austrian Socialist Party, the Maltese Labor Party, the Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement, and the Danish Social Democratic Party.
2. Parties at the head of a coalition government: the West German Social Democratic Party, the French Socialist Party, and the Finnish Social Democratic Party.
3. Parties as members of a coalition government: the Belgian Socialist Party, the Italian Socialist Party, the Italian Social Democratic Party, the San Marino United Socialist Party and the Swiss Socialist Party.

The strength of the Socialist International lies mainly in Europe. Almost all countries in Northern Europe were once under the control of social democratic parties. The Swedish Social Democratic Workers Party and the Norwegian Labor Party were in power for almost half a century. Though they are out of power now, their strength cannot be ignored. The socialist parties in other countries such as Britain, Portugal, Spain and the Netherlands, though not in power, carry a great deal of political weight in their countries.

The social democratic parties in Europe have gone through a process of historical development. Most of them were founded toward the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, a period when universal suffrage was being expanded in the West. Prior to World War I, they were confined to playing the role of the opposition. After the conclusion of World War I the socialists for the first time acquired the experience of forming or joining the government. During World War II, under Fascist dictatorial rule, the European social democratic parties were at a low tide. With the conclusion of the war, social democrats rallied their forces and revived their movement with the help of the influence they had gained by taking part in the resistance during the war. Until the mid-1970's the social democratic doctrine was very popular in Northern and Central Europe. The social democratic parties in Sweden, Norway, West Germany, Britain, and Austria came to power, carried out the Keynesian economic theories, introduced the welfare state, effected compromises between capitalists and workers, and promoted economic and social development to a certain degree. But beset by the serious economic recessions in the seventies, people in the West began to be dissatisfied with the socialist parties that had been in power for many years and wanted a change. In these circumstances, a number of social democratic governments fell successively. The Swedish Social Democratic Workers Party, after staying in power for 44 consecutive years, lost the elections in September 1976. The Conservative Party of Britain won a landslide victory in the general elections of May 1979. There are also signs that the political pendulum has started to swing to the right in other countries, such as Luxembourg, Iceland, Ireland, Denmark, and Norway.

In 1981, socialist parties came to power in France and Greece, both on the Mediterranean, and such a party was on the rise in Spain, a development that has come to be called the "rise of social democratic thought in Southern Europe." In Southern Europe, the bourgeois rightists had consistently held power. But as the economy developed and the social structure started to change, the middle classes in the Southern European countries, especially salaried employees and teachers, have quickly grown in strength, forming the social basis of the social democratic ideology. Since economic recessions tend to make people want to change, and as the socialists, to a certain extent, represent society's desire for change, they have been able to win elections and assume the reins of government. This shows that Western capitalism is trying to seek a way out of its socioeconomic crisis by adopting a new form of reformism.

#### IV. Class Background of the European Social Democratic Parties

Originally the European Socialist parties (including labor parties and social democratic parties) consisted mainly of blue-collar workers. Later some white-collar workers, students, professionals and other middle-class and petty intellectuals also joined. After World War II, the middle strata formed by white-collar workers and petty-bourgeois intellectuals greatly expanded, becoming the main social basis of the socialist parties.

The socialist parties of Europe have close relations with the trade unions. In Britain, for example, the Labor Party has nearly 6.5 million members; apart from 670,000 individual members and some 20,000 members from "socialist organizations,"

5.6 million members are also members of trade unions. The Labor Party and the trade unions used to have offices in the same Transportation Workers Union building. The Labor Party's funds come from the trade unions; its policies cannot but be influenced by the trade unions. It is true that not all the Labor Party leaders come from worker families, but they cannot ignore the material interests and social welfare of the trade union members. At times when the workers' movement in Britain reaches a high tide or when the economy is in serious recession, the monopoly capitalist class often puts the Labor Party in power, using labor's influence among the people to maintain political stability. Some of the other Western European social democratic parties also have the support of large segments of the membership of trade unions, such as the French Socialist Party, which leads the General Confederation of Labor and the French Democratic Workers Alliance, and the Italian Socialist Party, which leads the Italian Workers Alliance. Thus in our research on the socialist parties of Western Europe, we must also study these trade unions, their membership strength and their demands, and the relationship between the socialist parties and the trade unions.

Within the Socialist International there are two major factions, headed respectively by the most important and influential West German Social Democratic Party and the French Socialist Party. One is the Northern European faction centered around the West German, British, Swedish and Austrian social democratic parties; the other is the Southern European faction centered around the French, Spanish, Italian and Portuguese socialist parties. Their difference lies mainly in the attitude toward the communist parties. The Southern European faction is against relying totally on the bourgeoisie, advocates contacts with the communists in the democratic struggle, and seeks to win power by allying with and using the strength of the communists. The Northern European faction is strongly against this stand, and "refuses absolutely" to form a coalition government with the communists. While there are different opinions within the Socialist International about whether to approach the communists or cooperate with them, the overall attitude on the matter is one of refusal. When the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party proposed cooperation between the communist parties and socialist parties, the Council and Executive Board of the Socialist International held a series of meetings in March-April 1956 and passed a resolution refusing to form any united front or effect any other form of political cooperation with the communists. In April 1956 the meeting of the Executive Board in London issued a statement that there is "nothing in common between socialism and communism." Many countries held steadfastly to an anticommunist stand at the Congress of the Socialist International held in July 1959 in Hamburg. In November 1976, the Socialist International, in session in Geneva, received a letter from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of the German Democratic Republic, inviting the attention of the International to the document "For European Peace, Security, Cooperation and Social Progress" passed by the summit conference of European communist parties held in June 1976 in Berlin, reiterating the communists' "readiness to cooperate with the socialist parties and social democratic parties" and willingness to send officials to contact the Socialist International. At the conclusion of the meeting in Geneva, the new president, Willy Brandt, when asked by a Soviet reporter, said that the Executive Board had received the letter and that all the members had taken note of its content, but he made no further comments.

Since the appearance of "Eurocommunism", almost every issue of SOCIALIST AFFAIRS, organ of the Socialist International, has carried individually signed articles commenting on Eurocommunism, but there has been no official statement on the issue. The social democrats of Western Europe seem to doubt the Eurocommunists' elimination of the terms proletarian dictatorship and Leninism and their advocacy of so-called democracy, independence, "national color" and polycentrism. While agreeing that Eurocommunism is developing in the direction of social democracy, the social democrats of Western Europe wonder whether the Eurocommunists are sincere in talking about "a new look for communism", whether they are not just "a Trojan horse" in the words of David Owen, member of the British Labor Party and former British foreign secretary. What are the basic differences in theory and practice, if any, between the Western European social democratic parties and the Eurocommunists, and what are their similarities, if any? Can they cooperate with each other or must they compete or contend with each other? If they cooperate, how far can they go? These questions all need to be answered.

#### V. Socialist International's Infiltration into Asia, Africa and Latin America

The Socialist International, while originating in Europe and centering its activities in Western Europe, is also involved in other regions of the world. In the fifties, the International tried to extend into Latin America and the Far East; for this purpose it established the Liaison Bureau for Latin America and held an Asian Socialist Party Conference. But for a variety of reasons the attempt has not been very successful.

In December 1977, the Socialist International held a summit conference in Tokyo where it announced its policy to "shake off Europe-centrism and orient toward the political currents of the world." The conference marked the beginning of the International's attempt to go beyond Europe into other parts of the world. After the conference, an office was set up in Tokyo to promote cooperation among members from the Asian and Pacific regions.

In Africa, an "African Socialist International" was set up in 1975 by the Senegalese Socialist Party and the Tunisian Socialist Party to facilitate direct or indirect contacts between the Socialist International and the African parties having social democracy as their action program. A coordinating committee was also established. On 14 July 1980, a preparatory conference for the African Socialist International was held in Tunis, where it was announced that a conference to establish the African Socialist International would be held in February 1981. The preparatory committee decided that the future African Socialist International would be "open to other parties in Africa" and that it would become an African arm of the Socialist International.

In Latin America, a meeting was held in San Jose, Costa Rica, in April 1976 to prepare for a conference of the International's Latin American member parties. The meeting was attended by representatives of the Venezuelan Democratic Action Party, the Mexican Institutional Revolutionary Party, and certain parties in Central America and the Caribbean. Seeking to formulate a program of united action with the Latin American socialist parties, the Socialist International held a meeting in Caracas in May 1976, attended by representatives from 13 European social democratic parties and 16 Latin American reformist parties, for

exploratory dialogues in preparation for an organizational link-up. The International's 13 Congress held in Geneva in the same year also passed a special resolution on Latin America and elected two Latin American delegates to be International vice presidents. In October 1977, at the meeting of the International's Executive Board held in Madrid, a special Latin American Committee was set up which was later replaced by the formal Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean, whose present chairman is Dominican Revolutionary Party leader Jose Francisco Pena Gomez. Today the International has 11 formal member parties in 10 Latin American countries and 14 informal corresponding parties in 11 Latin American countries.

To infiltrate into Asia, Africa and Latin America, the Socialist International has made necessary compromises, such as permitting developing countries to use nonparliamentary democratic means and establish radical political organizations, recognizing that under extraordinary circumstances violent revolutions are rational and unavoidable, and agreeing that the armed forces can become the pillar of social progress as well as the guarantor for irreversible changes. As for the methods used in carrying out progressive reforms, the Socialist International has revised its traditional doctrine on the consistency between democratic development and the nonviolent methods used to achieve it. These changes in the policy concepts of the Socialist International represent a new trend worth noting.

9856

CSO: 4005/865

## PARTY AND STATE

### STRIVING TO IMPROVE PARTY WORK STYLE

#### 'Remain Untainted'

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 19 May 82 p 3

[Article by Jiang Ke [5637 2688]: "The Important Thing Is To Remain Untainted"]

[Text] When the party Central Committee proposed overcoming unsound tendencies, opposing the corrosive influence of capitalist ideology and upholding the purity of CCP members and revolutionary cadres, everyone was very supportive. They all clapped and cheered. However, there were also those who appeared to be reluctant. They said: "At present our social practices are such that if one does not have connections or if one does not get in by the back door then it is impossible to move a single step and nothing will get done. How difficult it is to remain untainted!"

There is no need to deny that there still exist many unhealthy trends and evil practices within our party and in society. For example, in the economic sphere illegal activities such as smuggling, graft, larceny, speculation and bribery still exist. These are the disastrous consequences of unsound practices. Given such practices, it is very difficult for one to withstand all sorts of tests while truly remaining uncorrupted and untainted. However, in the same way it cannot be denied that when confronted with the corrosive influence of this fragrant breeze and poisonous fog, there are those who are weak willed and have succumbed to the attack of "sugar-coated bullets" as well as those who have been blinded by greed like Cheng Zhanbiao [4453 0594 1753]. There are also degenerate elements who urge and encourage girls to become the wives of Hong Kong capitalists. In spite of this, there are still many CCP members and revolutionary cadres who have resisted corruption, remained untainted and who are honest in performing their duties. Closer to home, there is the case of the young factory director Zhang Fugui [1728 4395 6311] who wrote in an article published in this newspaper that "We don't want one fen unless it is earned through labor." There are those who offered him bribes of 4,500 yuan as his cut, in order to win a contract to expand the factory and to promote the sales of asbestos tiles. They all met with his stern refusal.

The facts show that although these unsound trends have had a strong influence, there are ways to resist them. In a similar environment an individual may drift with the current or he may remain untainted. He may become a reed that bends

with the wind or he may become a strong tree that stands alone in the cold. A saying puts it well: Supporting what is correct while driving out evil and resisting corruption while guarding against deterioration--it's not that this can't be done, it's that it is not done. During the difficult years of the revolution, many revolutionaries were able to "have dealings with the devil" in the enemy's lair and yet remained untainted. The true qualities of the communists did not change because of the adversity of the circumstances. Thus, today when the people are the masters and the socialist system is steadily being consolidated, what reason do we have for yielding to pressures from our objective environment, for rashly tarnishing the honor of communists and for willingly going along with unsound practices in society?!

Whether or not we can resist the corrosive influence of capitalist ideology, guard against the contamination of unsound practices and truly act as the masters and not the slaves of our environment depends on whether or not we can maintain a high ideological standard. At present, there are certain party members and cadres who place very low demands on themselves. Their standards are: as long as we don't exceed "what is proper" (that is, not violating the law and committing crimes), what does it matter if we engage in a few petty and unsound practices. Because they have set this kind of standard they always have an easy conscience and are carefree about food and drink, exchanging favors and receiving and sending gifts. They seem to have forgotten that enough quantitative change can lead to qualitative change. When tiny ant holes grow in number, they may cause the collapse of 1,000 li of embankment. They have probably also forgotten that CCP members differ from the common people in that they are bound by national law and the demands of party regulations and party discipline. Advanced proletarian elements and state workers must not be satisfied with merely not violating the law. They should regard being honest in performing their official duties and remaining untainted as their ultimate goals and stick to this principle. If they fail to do so, once they disregard this goal they will exceed "what is proper." This will not only undermine and destroy the purity of CCP members, it will also open up new channels for major criminal activity. In fact, certain people, including some veteran party members and cadres who have long been involved in the revolution, have been unable to resist the corrosive influence of capitalist ideology and ended up by violating the law. It was their "petty dealings" involving a few packs of cigarettes, a few bottles of wine, a few plates of food and several dollars that created this breach. Consequently, when faced with an attack of "sugar-coated bullets," we must remain invincible. We must support "remaining untainted" and, no matter where or when, we must not back away from this standard!

We propose that CCP members and revolutionary cadres support "remaining untainted." The significance of this is that it will preserve their purity and guarantee that they do not commit mistakes. More importantly, we must treat it as a spiritual weapon and use it to transform, motivate and influence all of society. It is the same as when an individual engages in unsound practices. He not only may harm himself, he may also harm society. Conversely, if someone is able to "remain untainted" this will purify society and other people.

## Retaliation Against Informers

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 18 May 82 p 1

[Article by Dai Shanliang [2071 0810 5328] and Ma Shubao [7456 2885 1405]:  
"Yuyao County CCP Committee Deals With an Incident of Retaliation"]

[Text] Lou Fugui [2869 4395 2710], former party committee secretary of the Fengbei Commune in Yuyao County and Mao Xiujiong [3029 0208 3518], party branch committee member of the Hexin Brigade abused their power by taking retaliatory action against commune members who exposed Mao Xiujiong's use of bribery and other illegal acts. Recently, the county Commission for the Inspection of Discipline dealt strictly with this incident. The county CCP committee issued a notice on this matter calling on party organizations at all levels throughout the county to take warning. They were also asked to firmly support and protect informants and to ensure that the current struggle to attack economic crimes proceeds smoothly.

At the end of 1980 and in March of 1981, party branch committee member of the Hexin Brigade Mao Yuren [3029 5940 0088] and commune members Mao Shiding [3029 1102 0002] and Mao Yinao [3029 6892 2407] (also known as Mao Shouyi [3029 1343 5030], Mao Yongfa [3029 2340 3127] and Mao Chang Ting [3029 7022 1656]) on numerous occasions wrote letters to concerned departments in the Shanghai Municipal CCP Committee's Commission for the Inspection of Discipline. They reported that Mao Xiujiong, branch committee member of that brigade and the person in charge of the plant run by the brigade, offered and accepted bribes and sent gifts of food and drink during business transactions with personnel from the Shanghai Clothing Industry Company. In March of last year, the People's Procuratorate of Huangpu Ward in Shanghai sent someone to investigate the situation in Yuyao. Lou Fugui, the party committee secretary of Fengbei Commune at that time violated the principle for handling letters from the people. He made this matter known to the public at the Hexin Brigade party branch committee meeting which the informants were attending. Once Mao Xiujiong found out that someone had exposed his dealings he deliberately set about retaliating. He sought everywhere the names of the people who wrote the letters and wantonly tried to incite others saying that since someone wrote a letter to lodge a complaint, operations in the plant must cease and the plant must close down. Staff and workers must return to work in the brigades. At the meeting of cadres he also proposed that they announce a "shutdown." In this way he caused ideological confusion among the masses and provoked commune members who did not really understand the true facts to reprimand the letter writers. Some even threatened to destroy the homes of the letter writers. After Mao Xiujiong found out that the letter writer was the commune member Mao Shiding, he seized on him to make him the "first target of attack" and to find his "behind the scenes supporters." He also took advantage of his authority to stop Mao Shiding's wife and daughter from working in the plant run by the brigade. Mao Shiding was forced under strong intimidation to say that party branch committee member Mao Yuren and commune member Mao Yinao assisted him in writing the letter.



The commune party committee secretary at that time, Lou Fugui, not only did not put a halt to this illegal and disruptive behavior of Mao Xiujiong, instead he was supportive of it. At the end of last June, when Lou Fugui retired, he told the newly appointed commune party committee secretary that Mao Yuren's letter of accusation was written as a result of "personal motives" and "internal contradictions." The new commune secretary listened to this side of the story and together with Lou sought out Mao Yuren for a "chat." They demanded that he admit his mistakes and required him to write a self-criticism. Next, at the conference of all party members, commune brigade chiefs and other leading figures, the informant Mao Yuren was treated as the "accused." They said he was "like a pea shooter." They explained his motives and the circumstances involved in writing the letter and conducted several criticism sessions. The new commune secretary made public the contents of the letter while the informant was present and maligned Mao Yuren for writing the letter, saying that it was due to "an incompetent official trying to make a name for himself." They urged that "organizational measures" be taken against Mao Yuren and that the commune party committee be convened to make the erroneous decision to relieve Mao Yuren from his duties as party branch committee member.

With the support of the Ningpo Local CCP Committee's Commission for the Inspection of Discipline, the Yuyao County Commission for the Inspection of Discipline went through a penetrating investigation to sort out the true facts of the situation. Mao Xiujiong not only sent presents of food and drink and offered and accepted bribes in his business transactions, he also took advantage of his power to use the trick of self-criticism and self-incrimination making fraudulent applications and claims to embezzle funds. Between July and December of 1981 he embezzled 870 yuan. In order to mete out strict party discipline, the Yuyao Commission for the Inspection of Discipline decided to expel Mao Xiujiong from party membership, to recommend that he be dismissed from administrative duties and to recover all the stolen money. Lou Fugui's attack on the informant and his sheltering of the people who were exposed provided serious disciplinary warning within the party. The newly appointed commune secretary had not been in office long, therefore in his handling of this case he failed to carry out investigations and was biased. He also spoke and acted incorrectly. However, he was good at acknowledging his mistakes and was able to make a thorough self-criticism. He circulated a notice of criticism. At the same time he commended Mao Yuren's revolutionary spirit of daring to struggle against unsound practices and illegal activities in the economic sphere.

#### Opposition to Acts of Vengeance

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 18 May 82 p 1

[Article: "Retaliatory Acts Are Not Permitted"]

[Text] Mao Yuren, party branch committee member of the Hexin Brigade in Yuyao County had the courage to wage a struggle against unsound practices in the economic sphere. He displayed the selflessness, fearlessness and awe inspiring righteousness that is the noble character of CCP members.

Carrying out retaliatory actions against those who expose the mistakes of others is not allowed by party discipline and state laws. The "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life" clearly stipulate that it is necessary to "protect the inviolability of the rights of party members" and that retaliation against those who make accusations is not permitted. Recently the revised draft of the constitution which has been discussed by all the people reaffirmed that "appeals, complaints and accusations involving citizens must be thoroughly investigated by concerned state agencies which are also responsible for meting out punishment." It emphasized that anyone who lodges complaints "must in no way be subject to suppression and retaliation." In our nation and within our party each citizen and party member is responsible for fighting against evil people and acts, exposing and reporting criminal activities, protecting the interests of the people and ensuring that the establishment of the four modernizations proceeds smoothly. Party organizations at all levels and political departments should protect the legitimate rights of citizens and party members and under no circumstances should they take retaliatory actions against informants. The strict handling of this instance of retaliation by the Yuyao Commission for the Inspection of Discipline is a manifestation of our strict party discipline and it provides further support for informants. All areas must make serious inquiries and speedily investigate and sentence those who engage in retaliatory activities.

At present we are launching a struggle to combat serious economic crimes. This has a bearing on the rise and fall of our party and nation. This struggle is also a very practical move to consolidate the party. As for CCP members, this is a rigorous test to see whether or not they can take a firm stand to expose serious crimes. When exposing this kind of criminal activity or when temporarily being subjected to suppression and retaliation, it is particularly necessary to reaffirm our confidence. We must have faith that righteousness will surely prevail over evil. CCP members regard wholeheartedly serving the people as their objective. We must always keep the interests of the party and the nation in mind. We must also display the spirit of the "five unafraids" and strive for total victory in this struggle.

### Contradicting, Obeying Superiors

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 20 May 82 p 4

[Article by Zhu Qian [6175 0241]: "To Contradict or To Obey"]

[Text] Although the characters for "ding"--to contradict, and "shun"--to obey, have a component in common, their meanings are vastly different. "Ding" means to contradict one's superior, to resist and to oppose. "Shun" is the exact opposite, it means to comply with, to conform and to follow. When the people are confronted with unsound trends, they frequently make different choices between contradicting and obeying their superiors. In general there are three positions they may take.

The first is resolutely to oppose rather than obey their superiors. These people are in the majority. They are honest in performing their official duties and do not seek personal gain. Their practices are sound and there is strict

enforcement of orders and prohibitions. They are not motivated by the desire for gain. Regardless of whether those who engage in unsound practices are their seniors, colleagues, subordinates or old friends and acquaintances, they continue to uphold principles and do not give them the green light. Even if they are fully aware that they may be hurting themselves they still fearlessly hold out against them. They dare to stroke the backside of the tiger and take a clear-cut stand to drive out evil. If their own power is insufficient they report to the unit leadership or to higher authorities. They rely on the party organization to oppose those involved in unsound practices. They may also appeal to periodicals and newspapers to call on public opinion to join together in opposition. This is the noble character and the principle of party spirit that CCP members and revolutionary cadres must all possess. This is the fine tradition of the party. We should energetically encourage and urge the display of this fine tradition.

Second, there are those who do not contradict nor obey their superiors. There are also quite a number of comrades in this group. Their philosophy of life is to preserve their purity and play it safe. They believe each person should sweep away the snow in front of his door and not pay any attention to snow on someone else's roof. They themselves do not engage in dishonest practices and either pretend not to see or turn a deaf ear to the unsound practices of others. Generally speaking, not engaging in unsound practices themselves, they are much better than those who take advantage of their authority, seek personal gain, drift with the tide and wallow in the mire. However, it takes much more than this to be a CCP member and a revolutionary cadre. If one sees the interests of the people and the establishment of the four modernizations being undermined yet remains indifferent, if one does not put an end to it or oppose it but rather lets it continue and spread, this is objectively equivalent to covering up and condoning such actions. This is a mistake.

Third, there are those who obey without resisting. This type of person is in the minority yet they are very dangerous. Whenever something crops up they always disregard the interests of the party and the people and give primary consideration to their own gains and losses. They may find it difficult to refuse because of friendship or loss of face. They want to form connections. One more friend may mean more options. They may seek a promotion by flattering and currying favor with their superiors. They may ingratiate themselves with subordinates so as not to lose their votes. This is what is called making things convenient for others and for oneself. In this way they naturally do not think of opposing unsound practices nor are they willing to or dare to contradict them. Thus, as long as higher leading bodies, old friends and relatives and subordinates know who to go to, they can get what they want. They get to use opportunities to gain their own ends by sending gifts. Those who can help, do their utmost to do so, and give them the green light. They have bartered away our principles. What is worse, when they see others engaging in unsound practices and seeking personal gain they not only do not oppose them, on the contrary, they become jealous. They forget what is right in the face of profit. They build boats to sail with the favorable wind, they take a share of things they are not entitled to and they go along with evil deeds. Some people began by engaging in unsound practices and progressed to economic graft and corruption and to leading a dissolute life which finally resulted in political degeneration. They have become incorrigible criminals. This is not alarmist talk but rather the grim reality of life.

In sum, each CCP member and the revolutionary cadres should adopt the first attitude and try to avoid the second attitude. They must also resolutely oppose the third attitude. Regardless of where or when, they should regard the interests of the revolution as being their most vital concern. Their personal interests must become subordinate to the interests of the revolution. They must uphold principles and staunchly struggle against evil practices. We must give full play to the exemplary and leading role of party members and cadres in all respects and in all we do.

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CSO: 4005/909

## PARTY AND STATE

### NEED TO PURIFY PARTY RANKS EMPHASIZED

Shijianzhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 18 Jun 82 p 3

[Article by Hou Zhikui [0186 1807 1145]: "Party Members Must Strive To Preserve Their True Image of Public Servants Free From Corruption"]

[Text] During the current struggle against serious criminal activities in the economic field, we have exposed some cases involving party cadres, alarming cases of a grave nature, which have inspired us to seek a solution for the serious problem of how to persuade Communist Party members to keep their true image of dedicated public servants free from corruption and intact.

Ours is a Communist Party which serve as the vanguard of the working class. Outside of serving the interests of the overwhelming majority of the people, it has no interests of its own. For this reason, we Communist Party members must strive to preserve our true image of dedicated public servants, free from corruption. During the past several decades, whether in the difficult years of revolution or in the period of socialist construction, the overwhelming majority of our party cadres have at all times distinguished themselves by successfully resisting temptation for corruption, and by consciously foiling the invasion of the bourgeois ideology. In this way, they have succeeded in preserving their noble moral image of dedicated public servants, free from corruption. But it is also true that as the scenes of struggle and the stature of our party undergo change, and particularly as a result of the 10-year turmoil, many party members have, under the corrosive influence of bourgeois ideology, discarded our party's excellent tradition. Some have even capitulated to this bourgeois ideology. Key examples of this kind can be cited as follows:

1. Some people who care only about their own "small domains of interest" have spent days and nights thinking only of their wives, children and housing and money. Some have even resorted to underhanded tactics to make profits through the establishment of personal relationships and backdoor dealings.
2. To satisfy their selfish desires, some have given parties and practiced bribery and favoritism in violation of the laws and in betrayal of principles. This indicates that they have given approval to speculation and other unlawful and criminal activities.

3. Lusting for profits, some have engaged in embezzling, speculating, smuggling and trading in contraband goods; by this means they have turned a large amount of collective and state property into private ownership.

Although so far only a few party members are under the influence of such unhealthy tendencies, the organization, fighting power and prestige of our party have suffered a serious damage. If this is allowed to grow unchecked, our party will be in danger of changing its color.

At present, we are pursuing a policy of opening our door to foreigners and revitalizing the economy at home. Under the influence of factors at home and abroad, the class struggle will continue in some specific localities for a long time to come. But, with the implementation of the open door policy will come the capitalist ways of thinking and living, this in turn will affect and corrupt some wavering elements in our ranks. Therefore, against this new historical background, it is particularly and vitally significant for us Communists to preserve our true image of dedicated public servants free from corruption.

First, to preserve the true image of dedicated public servants, free from corruption, we must study harder than ever Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, the constitution of the party, and the "Resolution on Certain Questions of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" so that we can spend the rest of our lives serving the people wholeheartedly and dedicating ourselves to communism.

Second, we must start everything from scratch. An ancient proverb says: "Ant caved-ins can cause a 1,000-li dike to collapse." Countless facts prove that the transformation of many people into those who capitulate to the bourgeoisie is by means of gradual evolution. It comes bit by bit. Under no circumstances should our comrades view "small offers of food and drink, and small embezzlements" as "something insignificant." One must understand that behind "such insignificant offers" lurk grave dangers against which we must keep a vigilant guard and of which we must constantly remind ourselves.

Third, in order to perfect our organizational life, we must tighten our party discipline. A very important reason that some party cadres have committed mistakes or even serious crimes stems from a lack of effectively organized supervision. If they are allowed to seek profits for themselves and practice bribery day after day without being subjected to criticism, and if this situation is allowed to develop, the problem will become more serious than ever, leading them to commit crimes. This is why we Communist Party members must consciously place ourselves under the supervision of party organizations. Party organizations at all levels must play an active role in developing criticism and self-criticism, and solemnly and earnestly help comrades who have committed ordinary mistakes correct them. They must launch a merciless struggle against elements found guilty of crimes or breaking laws. Only in this way can we eliminate impure elements that are harmful to the organization of the party and pledge to make it advance triumphantly.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### CORRUPTION, PRINCIPLES OF 'TAKING CLASS STRUGGLE AS KEY LINK'

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 18 May 82 p 4

[Commentary by Sun Xinhua [1327 0207 5478] and Lei Yun [7191 0061]: "The Distribution Between Seriously Attacking Activities of Economic Crimes and 'Taking Class Struggle as the Key Link'"]

[Text] Under the guidance of the "Resolution" of the CCP Central Committee and the State Council issued on 13 April, a struggle against serious economic crimes is being waged in earnest. This is an important manifestation of class struggle in the economic realm [under new historical conditions]. This struggle is linked to the success and failure of the construction of socialist modernization in our country as well as to the well-being of our party and state; we must be determined to wage this struggle to the end.

Now some comrades are worried that this struggle will lead to retreading the old road of "taking the class struggle as the key link." Some comrades believe that the existence of serious crimes in the economic realm proves that "taking class struggle as the key link" is still correct and necessary. These two views fail to distinguish the principal difference between attacking activities of economic crimes and "taking class struggle as the key link" due to partial comprehension and acceptance of the party's historical experience on the question of class struggle.

Born in the storm of class struggle, our party grew and prospered and came to full maturity also in class struggle. Aside from earlier experiences, from Liberation to 1956 the party led the people in conducting land reform, suppressing counterrevolutionaries, the three antis and five antis, in reforming capitalists; it scored a series of great achievements which not only eliminated feudal land ownership and solved the contradiction between the peasant class and the landlord class, but also eliminated the capitalist exploitative system and fundamentally solved the contradiction between the proletariat and capitalist class, making it possible for our country to enter a period of peaceful socialist development. In practicing class struggle, our party accumulated extremely rich and valuable experiences which are important contributions to the treasure of Marxist theory of class struggle.

During that time, one of the reasons that our party handled class struggle so successfully was the correct leadership and direction of the party and Comrade Mao Zedong. The theory and policy made by Comrade Mao Zedong for that period

have been affirmed by historical development, becoming an important part of Mao Zedong's thought as scientific theories. Moreover, even after the socialist reform, Mao Zedong had many incisive views on the question of class struggle. For example, his idea that class struggle in the socialist period could be long, tortuous and even violent; his thought on the possible danger of a qualitative deterioration of our party in power, his thought that although large-scale and stormy mass class struggles had basically ended, class struggle was not completely finished; his thought on correctly distinguishing two kinds of socialist contradiction and correctly handling people's internal contradiction as the central theme of national political life, etc. are thought-provoking and farsighted. The problem arose when we did not perpetuate these correct thoughts or use materialist perception and dialectic methods to analyze the phenomenon of partial class struggle after socialist reform, leading to a series of "leftist" stuff and becoming worse as time went on. Important manifestations were: First, in an idealistic judgment of the political situation of the party central to local levels and the capitalist revival had become a real danger; a great number of antirevolutionary revisionists had infiltrated the rank of the party, government, military, cultural, educational and media circles to the extent that a capitalist class had been formed inside the party. Second, an erroneous judgment was made on the major contradictions in our society, i.e., regarding the contradiction between the proletariat and capitalists as a major contradiction in the entire historical span of socialism, so that "continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship" had to be insisted upon and class struggle had to be used as the guideline for all actions. Third, an incorrect stipulation was made on the principle and policy of struggle, i.e. that orderly reform and struggle from top to bottom could not solve problems, that a large-scale stormy mass movement from the bottom up involving one class overthrowing another in a political revolution was needed. Under this leftist thought, a general ideological cognitive problem was identified as a political problem, which in turn was identified as an "enemy vs ourselves" problem, a series of aggravated mistakes which were taken advantage of by the counterrevolutionary group of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing and led to serious consequences.

Therefore, the question is not that in the past we recognized the existence of class struggle in the socialist period, nor that the party grasped class struggle, nor that the party seriously grasped class struggle in a particular historical juncture, but that an unrealistic and inaccurate estimate was made the class situation and of class struggle, that within a certain limit class struggle was expanded and made absolute, and that "leftist" thought and principles were used to guide class struggle. We must adopt a factual and analytical approach towards our party's historical experience in class struggle and Comrade Mao Zedong's thought and writing on class struggle in which the correct and the scientific, instead of being denied, must be affirmed, and in which the erroneous and unscientific must be discarded and never repeated.

The "resolutions" on certain historical questions made in the 6th Plenum of the Party Central Committee indicated that: "After the elimination of the exploitative class, class struggle is no longer the major contradiction. However, due to domestic factors and international influence, class struggle will continue to exist for a long time within certain limits and can even intensify under certain conditions. Both the view that class struggle should be expanded and



the view that class struggle has been eliminated must be opposed." This alone is the correct Marxist statement made by our party after rectifying ideological and political mistakes. It is not only the scientific summation of the party's historical experience of handling two sides of class struggle, but also the party's long-term basic stance on the question of class struggle for the present and for the future. The struggle against economic crime conforms perfectly to the basic spirit of the "resolution"; it opposes the theory that class struggle has ended but shares none of the common ground with "taking class struggle as the key link."

(1) We reiterate that after the elimination of the exploitative class, class struggle will continue to exist because its roots extend deep in our country and abroad. The present serious criminal activities in the economic realm are an important and conspicuous manifestation of this kind of class struggle. Denying that attacking serious economic crimes is a class struggle and denying the inevitability and necessity of waging the struggle or maintaining a skeptical or even antagonistic attitude are entirely wrong.

(2) We emphasize that after the elimination of exploitative classes, class struggle exists only within a certain limit, because it is no longer class struggle in the original sense. At present in the economic realm criminal activities are serious, causing great harm to the party and the state. It is, however, not in the mainstream of our country's present situation, but a counter-current. True, in the party and in the rank of cadres, there are corrupt renegades, but the great majority of party members and cadres are still good or rather good. At present the serious problems appearing in the economic realm are, after all, partial problems in the entire social realm. The major contradiction of our society is still in the growing need for material culture on the one hand and the backward social production on the other. Engaging in attacking serious economic crime is not an important task for this year, but will be an important task for the party in the future for a long time to come. The goal is to advance the construction of four modernizations and to eliminate obstacles by solving this major contradiction.

(3) The struggle to attack serious economic crimes need not and should not be waged in the form of a stormy mass political movement. It should use the legal system as a weapon, on the basis of the constitution and procedures stipulated by law, proceed through prosecution.

It can be seen that at present the struggle to attack serious economic crimes is a class struggle waged under the guidance of the Marxist line, unlike the class struggle under the guidance of the "leftist" thought. The "leftist" slogan of "taking class struggle as the key link" must be discarded. But it must not lead to the theory that class struggle has been eliminated so as to deny the importance and necessity of attacking serious economic crime. The objective existence of class struggle and the importance and necessity of attacking activities of economic crimes at present cannot be denied, but should not lead to a renewed affirmation of using the leftist slogan of "taking class struggle as the key link" so as to affirm the "leftist" actions of expanding class struggle. In sum, on the question of class struggle, and in the struggle against serious economic crime, one must simultaneously oppose the right and guard against the "left," seeking truth from facts, eliminating interference and ensuring the healthy development of the struggle.

## PARTY AND STATE

### SOVIET EXPERIENCE IN STRUGGLE AGAINST BUREAUCRATISM SPOTLIGHTED

Xi'an SHAANXI SHIDA XUEBAO [SHAANXI TEACHES UNIVERSITY JOURNAL] in Chinese No 2 Spring 82 pp 3-13

[Article by Liu Zhi [2692 2784]: "Soviet Democracy and Bureaucratism -- A Study of Lenin's Thought"]

[Excerpts] In the pamphlet on "On Food Tax" Lenin wrote on 21 April 1921 to explain the New Economic Policy passed by the 10th Congress of the Russian Communist Party, there is the following passage:

...On 5 May 1918, bureaucratism still did not attract our attention. The October Revolution had taken place only half a year earlier and our effort from top to bottom to destroy bureaucratic institutions had also lasted for just half a year; we still did not feel this calamity.

Another year elapsed. At the session of the 8th Congress of the Russian Communist Party held on 18-23 March 1919, our new party program was passed. In this party program we spoke very frankly; we were not afraid of this calamity but willing to expose it, unmask it, make everybody despise it, and arouse the idea, will, tenacity and action to struggle against it. Said we: "Bureaucratism has partly revived within the Soviet system."

Another 2 years elapsed. In the spring of 1921, that is, after the 8th Congress of the Soviets had discussed (December 1920) the question of bureaucratism, and when the 10th Congress of the Russian Communist Party had summed up the debate closely related to bureaucratism, we took this calamity even more clearly, plainly, and seriously.

From this passage uttered by Lenin, we can clearly see that, first, shortly after the establishment of the soviet regime, bureaucratism immediately revived within it; second, Lenin and the Russian Communist Party recognized the bureaucratism within the soviet system in practice and did so with gradual depth; and third, even though Lenin and the Russian Communist Party wrote the question of bureaucratism into their party program as early as March 1919 with a view

to calling upon people to struggle against it, by early 1921 the calamity of bureaucratism had become even more serious. This shows that struggle against the bureaucratism within the soviet system was an extremely important and yet difficult matter.

The soviet system was the newest type of state system established anew on the foundation of the destroyed military bureaucratic apparatus; Lenin repeatedly called the Soviet Republic the most complete and the loftiest type of democratic regime. Why within such a political regime could there emerge so soon the calamity of bureaucratism? And how did Lenin analyze the relationship between the soviet system and bureaucratism? What ideological wealth did Lenin provide us in the process of leading the Russian proletariat and peasants to struggle against bureaucratism? This article intends to investigate Lenin's works precisely over these questions; this may perhaps be of some benefit to the institutional reforms and antibureaucratic struggle we are carrying out today.

#### The Soviet Is the Loftiest and Incomparable Type of Democratic State Regime

The soviet was a political organization of the masses, created by the Russian proletariat in the revolutionary struggles of 1905 and 1907; it was the workers congress that organized the armed uprisings. Lenin opportunely discovered and highly praised this organizational form first created by the masses, thinking that it was the germination of a future proletarian revolutionary regime and the best form of proletarian regime of the Paris Commune type.

The reason why Lenin highly praised the soviet and took it as the best form of a proletarian regime was because the soviet succeeded in organically combining the proletariat's struggle for democracy and its struggle for socialism. We all know that in the "Communist Manifesto" Marx and Engels had already taken "struggle for democracy" along with struggle for rule by the proletariat as consistent goals of the workers' revolution. Actually, these two tasks are pre-conditions of each other. In an article he wrote in 1919 Lenin pointed out: "If we think that the struggle for democracy would make the proletariat deviate from the socialist revolution or stand in the way of the socialist revolution, etc., that would be fundamentally erroneous. On the contrary, just as not practicing complete democracy, socialism would not be able to win victory, not carrying out a comprehensive and thorough revolutionary struggle for democracy, would also not be preparing the proletariat for victory over the bourgeoisie."

After the February revolution, Lenin provided a clear formulation of the form of the future proletarian state regime in his "April Outline." He pointed out: "We must explain to the masses: the workers' representative soviet is the only feasible form for the revolutionary government." "We do not want a parliamentary republic but a republic composed of the representative soviets of the country's workers, hired farmhands and peasants from top to bottom." Let us eliminate the police, the army, and officials." "All officials must be elected and may be replaced at any time: their salaries must not exceed the average wage of a skilled worker." In the ensuing months, Lenin provided plenty of exposition and discussion in respect to this political program.

At the time, there existed fundamental differences between Marxists and anarchists and the opportunists of the Second International over the question of how to treat the power of the state. Anarchists advocated the removal of all state regimes; Plekhanov and Kautsky and their ilk, on the other hand, exalted to heaven the bourgeois parliamentary republic, taking it as the only good form of proletarian regime. In his article "A Critique of the Two Regimes," Lenin suggested his famous dictum: "The fundamental question of all revolutions is the question of state power. Failing to perceive this, one can hardly speak of joining the revolution, let alone leading the revolution." Lenin held that, unlike anarchists, Marxism acknowledges that during the period of the general revolution, especially during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, there must be a state and state power. Unlike Plekhanov and Kautsky and their ilk, Marxism holds that what is needed in the aforesaid period is not a common bourgeois parliamentary republic but a state like the Paris Commune.

Lenin repeatedly compared the fundamental difference between the bourgeois parliamentary republic and the soviet republic of the Paris Commune type. He said: "The most perfect and most advanced bourgeois state is the parliamentary democratic republic: power belongs to the parliament; the state apparatus and management institutions are, as is generally the case, equipped with a standing army, police, and officials who are in fact never replaced, who enjoy prerogatives, and who stand on the heads of the people." But the basic indicators of state power of the Paris Commune type are: "(1) The source of political power is not the law the parliament has discussed and passed in advance but the direct action initiated by the masses of the people from various localities below; put in current expressions, that means direct 'seizure'; (2) It substitutes directly armed people of the whole state for the police and army that are separated from, and confront, the people themselves; under such a regime, the order of the state is maintained by the armed workers and peasants, that is, the armed people, themselves; (3) Its officials are probably also replaced by the people's direct political power or are at least under the special supervision of the people, so that they become representatives elected by the people and, once demanded by the people, can be immediately dismissed and replaced; this turns them from the privileged stratum with 'status' drawing a high salary from the bourgeoisie into workers using special 'instruments,' and their compensation must not exceed that of the general wage of a skilled worker." Lenin held that the essence of the proletarian state lies precisely here.

During August-September 1918, that is, on the eve of the seizure of power by the Russian proletariat from the hands of the bourgeoisie, Lenin wrote an important theoretical work, "State and Revolution." In this work Lenin fully discussed the great significance of why the proletariat must destroy the old military, bureaucratic apparatus and establish a proletarian dictatorship. At the same time, he also carried out further theoretical discussion as to the form of the proletariat's future state power. Citing the principles of the Paris Commune summed up by Marx in his book "The French Civil War," Lenin discoursed: "This shows that the Commune replacement for the destroyed state apparatus seems to be a 'merely' more complete democracy which actually implies a more radical substitution, that is, substituting certain entirely different institutions for other institutions. Here is seen an actual example of 'quantity turning into quality': a very complete and very thorough democracy practiced in a way that can be generally imagined, a bourgeois democracy turning into proletarian

democracy." "All office expenses and all monetary privileges granted to officials are eliminated, and the salaries of all public personnel of the state are reduced to the level of 'wages for the workers.' Here is demonstrated a most conspicuous change: a change from the bourgeois democracy to the proletarian democracy, from the democracy of the oppressors to the democracy of the oppressed, from the state, a 'special force' carrying out suppression against specific classes, to a common force of the majority of the people--workers and peasants suppressing the oppressors." Besides, Lenin also discussed and expounded the view broached by Marx that a proletarian regime should handle both legislative and executive functions.

In a word, from "April Outline" to "State and Revolution," Lenin invariably took the elimination of the standing army and police, the election and supervision of officials by the people, and the removal of the officials' high salaries and privileges as the basic indicators of proletarian state power and proletarian democracy.

#### The Change of the Soviet System in Practice After the Victory of the October Revolution

A revolution is the practice of hundreds and thousands of people. The reason why the theory of Marxism-Leninism is the science of revolution is because it is rooted in practice, tested by practice, and continues to develop in practice. The Soviet regime established during the October Revolution of 1917 still accorded with the principles stated by Marx and Lenin in its early days. Since the February revolution, it began to replace Tsarist police and gendarmerie with workers and Red guards and other such people's armed forces; the old governmental apparatus of the bourgeoisie was destroyed and substituted with new people's committees. Indeed, as Lenin said in March 1918: "The soviet regime is a new type of state without bureaucrats, without police, without a standing army in which a new democracy has replaced the bourgeois democracy." However, this state form in its rudimentary shape was to undergo continuous changes in practice afterwards.

First, it was the standing army and police. When the soviet regime had just been set up on the ruins of backward old Russia, it faced vehement resistance and frequent revolts of domestic counterrevolutionaries and it faced the combined armed intervention of international imperialists. In the face of such a stern situation, it would be obviously very difficult to protect the soviet regime from being toppled if only workers, Red guards, peasant guerillas were relied upon....

Then, it was the evolution of state apparatus. According to the declaration issued by the Second Congress of All-Russia Worker-Peasant-Soldier Soviets and the Constitution passed in 1918, the All-Russia Worker-Peasant-Soldier Soviet Congress was the supreme organ of power of the state. During the period the Congress was out of session, its standing organ -- the All-Russia Central Executive Committee would exercise its power. According to the principles Lenin originally expounded and according to the idea of combined legislation and administration, the All-Russia Central Executive Committee elected by the All-Russia Soviet Congress should be a governmental organ with both legislative and administrative functions. But, at the Second All-Russia Soviet Congress there

was established somehow a People's Commissariat which was to take special charge of exercising executive power (later on many laws and edicts were also promulgated). This People's Commissariat was by no means elected; it was instead, organized by members nominated by the Bolshevik party which made up the majority at the Second All-Russia Soviet Congress. Thus, it was the People's Commissariat that turned out to be the organ of supreme power exercising both legislative and executive power whereas its supervision and replacement by the All-Russia Worker-Peasant-Soldier Soviet Congress and its Central Executive Committee became merely formalistic. The reason Lenin and the Bolsheviks did so was entirely for the purpose of assuring the leadership of the vanguard of the proletariat -- the party over the new regime. Under the circumstances at the time, if the electoral system were entirely adhered to, opportunities would have been created for certain petty bourgeois factions waving the socialist sign-board to legitimately overthrow the proletarian regime.

With respect to officials' wages, Lenin said while explaining the question in "State and Revolution" as to why only the average wage of a worker should be given them: "The capitalist culture has created large-scale production, the factory, the railroad, postal administration, the telephone, etc; on this basis most of the functions of the old 'state regime' have already become very simple and can be reduced to registration, filling out of forms, inspection and simple procedures of the like, so that every literate person is entirely able to exercise these functions." But, because Russia was backward both economically and culturally, and practice proved that management of the state turned out not as simple as had been imagined; it would still not do apart from relying on experts with scientific and technological knowledge and given management experience. Hence, after the October Revolution, except for the Foreign Affairs Ministry and the courts, most government management organs, especially departments of economic work, were forced to absorb large contingents of old officials, old functionaries, and old experts. Precisely because of this, after a period of equal wage system was practiced with respect to the officials' wages (the highest wage for a single working person was 500 rubles), a higher wage for the experts began to be administered. By April 1919, the provision that officials' wages must not exceed a worker's average wage was partly discarded.

After this series of changes taking place in practice in the soviet system, could it still be said that it was the most democratic form of regime? How should its democratic nature be viewed now? In order to answer this type of question, Lenin repeatedly pointed out that the soviet "is a way of managing the state under the condition of eliminating the bourgeoisie and opposition to the bourgeoisie. Here, democracy for the first time serves the toilers; it is no longer the rich people's democracy: but "the poor people's democracy," no longer sham democracy but genuine democracy. According to Lenin, this alone was the essence of Soviet democracy. Even so, because the soviet system itself underwent this series of changes, it was bound to incur also many new problems.

#### Bureaucratism Partly Revived Within the Soviet System

...Lenin was of the opinion that the reason why bureaucratism revived within the soviet system was because Russian culture was not well developed and it resulted from the soviet organs absorbing old officials and old functionaries. Said Lenin analytically, we could not find any other people, so we retained the

old officials; it was "this backwardness of the culture" that "demoted the soviet regime and enabled bureaucratism to revive." How to struggle against this bureaucratism? The main measures Lenin suggested and wrote into his party program at the time were to absorb soviet representatives to shoulder given state management tasks and absorb toilers to participate in state management. In his report at the 8th Congress of the CPSU, Lenin emphatically pointed out, only when all the residents participated in management work could the struggle against bureaucratism be thoroughly carried out and the task of overcoming bureaucratism be completed.

Social phenomena are always complex and complicated. At the same time when the calamity of bureaucratism was discovered by Lenin, two other important problems appearing in state management, especially in the tasks of economic management, were also discovered: one was the absence of people taking charge of concrete tasks that resulted from the collective management system put into practice after the October Revolution; the other was the stupid tendency of opposing experts incurred by the collective management system.

Hence, almost simultaneously with the grasping of the antibureaucratism struggle Lenin also grasped the single-chief system which represented a transition from the collective management system to individual responsibility as well as the task of absorbing experts to participate in management. Even though Lenin repeatedly talked about carrying out the single-chief system and absorbing experts and opposing bureaucratism between 1919 and 1920, saying that "there is no contradiction between our dictatorship and the single-chief system and socialist democracy," because such a single-chief system and appointment system were put in general practice, the people participating in management and the masses of the people supervising officials, etc., all this made it a problem that could hardly be implemented. For the sake of solving this problem, in February 1920, at Lenin's suggestion, the People's Commissariat changed the State Supervisory Department into the Worker-Peasant Procuratorate (also called People's Department of Procurators). Lenin indicated that the task of the Worker-Peasant Procuratorate was to inspect the work of various organs, expose mistakes, correct mistakes, struggle against bureaucratism, and through this organization at the same time strengthen the ability of the worker and peasant masses to participate in management work. The Worker-Peasant Procuratorate aimed mainly at absorbing nonparty worker and peasant masses to participate, letting nonparty worker-peasant congresses recommend the members who were to participate in this organization. Later practice proved that the Worker-Peasant Procuratorate by no means completed the aforesaid tasks.

#### Further Deepening of the Perception of Bureaucratism as a Calamity

In the Spring of 1921, that is, after the 8th Soviet Congress discussed bureaucratism and the 10th Congress of the Russian Communist Party summed up the debate closely related to the analysis of bureaucratism; with respect to this calamity, bureaucratism, Lenin "took it even more clearly, plainly, and seriously."

1. The bureaucratism within the soviet system was mainly a reflection on communists and concentrated in Moscow and the central organs. Two years earlier, Lenin still thought that the bureaucratism within the soviet system mainly came from the old functionaries employed by the new regime; by November 1920, Lenin's

view advanced further: the bureaucratism which had revived in the soviet organs could not but produce harmful effects in the party organizations. Now he saw that bureaucratism was mainly reflected in communists being "vainly self-aggrandizing, placing themselves above their genuine cause," treating practical work "with an arrogant, bureaucratic, indifferent attitude," exuding pride on the basis of ignorance, exerting their willfulness at the exclusion of relevant suggestions, and following the habits of officialdom. And it was mainly reflected in Communists undertaking leadership tasks...

2. The root source of bureaucratism within the soviet system was: "the dispersed and loose state of small producers, their poverty and crudeness, their stemmed routes of communication, the prevalence of their illiteracy, the lack of circulation, contact and coordination between industry and agriculture. All this is to a great extent the result of civil wars." Soviet Russia has always been a country with a peasant majority; under the soviet regime, it should ordinarily have rapidly developed its industry and supported its small peasants with the commodity exchange between industry and agriculture to enable them to embark gradually upon the path of socialist large-scale production. But, right after the revolution, civil wars broke out. Although the policy of "wartime communism" as a forced practice secured the victory in the civil war, circulation between industry and agriculture became artificially stemmed; small production became even more bankrupt. Bureaucratism took shape precisely on the basis of such a loose and debilitated state as that of the small producers. In addition, the cultural level of the masses was low; despite the fact that Lenin repeatedly called upon them to struggle against bureaucratism, and the soviet regime also passed a series of laws for carrying out such struggle against it, practically none took advantage of these laws. "Not only did peasants not know how to take advantage of them, even most Communists did not know how to take advantage of soviet laws: in order to struggle against bureaucratism. Consequently, not only was bureaucratism not overcome but it even became increasing more serious.

3. Even though the existence of bureaucratism had its deep economic sources, Lenin by no means neglected subjective reasons. Lenin was of the opinion that the bureaucratic sins committed by most communists wielding political power were mainly due to a lack of culture, ignorance in management, and indulgence in administrative means. When Lenin made a report at the 11th Congress of the Russian Communist Party on 27 March 1923, he cited two typical examples; one was that Moscow lacked meat supplies at the time and needed to buy canned substitutes... Communists in charge of the work lacked sufficient capability to handle management work; hence they often became lulled by others and turned into bureaucrats themselves. Consequently, Lenin maintained that, insofar as communist leaders were concerned, the key was in being good at study; they must learn to do management work and overcome the ill practice of resorting to administrative means at random.

Through such an analysis of bureaucratism with the soviet system like the above, Lenin pointed out: while bureaucratism was serious, one must not become disheartened and but seek to overcome it by adopting multifarious practical measures. In summary, the measures proposed by Lenin were:



First, promoting circulation between industry and agriculture by the New Economic Policy, developing small economies, restoring large-scale industry, and gradually establishing the economic foundation of socialism. Lenin pointed out, "circulation constitutes freedom in trade," "it is capable to a certain extent to help us struggle against the looseness of small producers and to a certain extent also help us struggle against bureaucratism."

Second, carrying out a cultural revolution, eliminating illiterates, running various schools, training the younger generation, enabling them to become the soviet system's reserves with culture, so that they could replace large contingents of old personnel. But this would not take place until several years later; the immediate task of communists was to learn from all experts of scientific knowledge and management experience so as to quickly turn themselves into civilized managers.

Third, communists undertaking responsible work in soviet organs must closely link with the masses, "paying extraordinary attention to the needs of workers and peasants," "treating the masses with a comradely manner" in order to win unlimited trust of the masses. Said Lenin: "to a communist party whose membership is limited, to a vanguard of the working class leading a big country advancing toward socialism, one of the greatest dangers is separation from the masses." "The basis of our policies and administrative means is to have the entire vanguard linked to all proletarians and linked to the masses of all peasants."

Fourth, it is necessary to continue to improve the soviet organs and reform the soviet system. In this regard, methods to be adopted may include institutional streamlining, reduction in staff structure, cutdown of personnel, economy in expenditures, change in operational systems, turning bureaucrats over to the courts for trial, etc.; but the key lies in selecting relevant talents and inspecting conditions of execution. In respect to selecting talents, Lenin repeatedly pointed out: We must absorb all fine nonparty workers and peasants to participate in management work in the various departments; we must absorb experts. In order to strengthen inspection work, Lenin instructed the two vice chairmen of the People's Commissariat and the Labor and Defense Commissariat mainly to place the focus of their work on inspection; he at the same time adopted measures to reorganize the Worker-Peasant Procuratorate which failed to carry out the function of inspection.

#### Final Thoughts

...Lenin carried out sharp criticism of the Soviet State organs. Apart from the cases mentioned above, he also repeatedly called the state organs "messiest organs," "inherited from the Tsarist regime but glossed over with some slight soviet color," "chaotic stuff of the bourgeoisie and the Tsar," "even if not loathsome, at least lamentable." In a word, from Lenin's point of view, this state system simply had to be reformed.

Meanwhile, Lenin frankly criticized the ideas and work style of Trotsky, Stalin, and party and state leaders of the like. Lenin especially criticized the party's general secretary, Stalin. In his letter to the Congress, he said: "As general secretary, Comrade Stalin wields boundless power; whether or not he can forever

cautiously exercise this power, I am not too sure." He also criticized Stalin by saying that when he led the Worker-Peasant Procuratorate, he failed to accomplish the task entrusted to him by the party Central Committee; "there is no organ more mishandled than our Worker-peasant Procuratorate." In his letter "Concerning Nationality or Question of 'Autonomous Development'" Lenin criticized Stalin for continuing pan-Russianism, for being "a Russianized alien," and he likewise criticized him for his impetuosity, his crudeness, intolerance, and unscrupulousness, etc.

It was on the basis of this series of analyses that Lenin finally directly proposed in his letter to the party Congress: "I would very much like to suggest the implementation at this Congress a series of changes to our political system." Lenin made two suggestions: one was to increase the number of the party's Central Committee members to 50-100 by encouraging more workers and peasants to join Central Committee; these persons should not be those who had long undertaken soviet work and thus already formed certain traditions and certain fixed views but those promoted to soviet personnel in less than the past 5 years, namely those closer to the common worker and peasant masses. Lenin held that adopting this measure would serve to achieve a twofold or even threefold goal: to enable more people to gain training by work at the central headquarters, to enhance the party's stability, and to reform the messiest organs. Another suggestion was to confer upon the state Planning Committee the legislative function. The purpose of this suggestion was to enable those experts of good scientific background who were equipped with broad experience in, and the capability of, recruiting relevant talent's to have both office and power in state organs, especially in the state Planning Committee, in order to preclude administrative interference.

Beside writing a letter to the Congress, Lenin also wrote two articles for open publication in the press: "How To Reorganize the Worker-Peasant Procuratorate" and "Fewer. But Better." These articles took reorganization of the Worker-Peasant Procuratorate as their theme and broadly discussed the question of reforming state organs and party organs. They emphatically pointed out that it was necessary to increase the number of members of the Central Control Commission, to enhance the supervisory function of these commissioners, to merge the reorganized Worker-Peasant Procuratorate with the Central Control Commission in order practically to strengthen the supervision over the party's leading organs.

From Lenin's final thoughts, we can see that he linked the improvement of the soviet organs and antibureaucratism struggle together with the reform of the soviet political system, and he concentrated his attention entirely on the party's supreme leading organ--the Central Committee and the party's principal leaders. This was quite reasonable. We all know that there is an important central point in Lenin's theory about the proletarian dictatorship, which is that the proletarian dictatorship is realized through the Communist Party and the leaders of the party are in turn the embodiment of party will. If the party's Central Committee is not well adjusted in the first place, would not the improvement of the system of proletarian dictatorship itself be entirely amiss?!

Within a few short years, the great Lenin, in order to establish the soviet type of proletarian dictatorship and carry out the struggle against bureaucratism within the soviet system, succeeded in considerably enriching and developing the

Marxist theory on proletarian dictatorship in practice. The practical experience accumulated by Lenin in this regard, the series of theoretical viewpoints he put forward, and the methods of analyzing and solving problems he exemplified are all extremely precious spiritual gifts to posterity; his thoroughly revolutionary spirit of daring to practice, respecting practice, and continuously forging forward in practice, in particular, even more gloriously stand as a brilliant example to posterity.

In his article "On the Role of Gold at Present and After the Complete Victory of Socialism" written in November 1921, Lenin said: "The establishment of the soviet system as the form for realizing proletarian dictatorship, this change of world significance, is already accomplished. The era of the parliamentary system of bourgeois democracy has come to a close. A new chapter in world history, namely the era of proletarian dictatorship, has now begun. But it will still take many countries to improve and complete the soviet system and various forms of proletarian dictatorship. In this regard, we still have many, many things to do. If we fail to see this, that would be inexcusable." While affirming fully the worldwide historical significance of the soviet system, Lenin at the same time refrained from concretizing the forms of the system he had established and that of the proletarian dictatorship; on the contrary, he asked that numerous countries seek to continue to improve and develop them.

The revolutionary pioneer of the German proletariat, well known Marxist, Rosa Luxemburg, wrote a pamphlet "The Russian Revolution" in January 1918 while in the enemy's prison. He praised highly the Bolsheviks' firm revolutionary stand and internationalist spirit; at the same time, he also criticized the Bolsheviks for despising intraparty democracy and warned that the increasing dictatorial factors within the party might gradually lead to the rise of a new bureaucratic politics. Because Luxemburg's criticism just happened to pander to the Trotskyite trend of opposing the soviet system with "pure democracy," Lenin in turn criticized Luxemburg. But, linking together the series of changes the soviet system underwent after the death of Lenin and looking back again while reviewing the ideas in the "April Outline" and "State and Revolution" cited in the first section of this article, people again would discover that Luxemburg's words were by no means said in the manner of shooting an arrow without a relevant target; on the contrary, they were reasonable.

Since proletarian dictatorship is dictatorship by the workers, it should of course let the masses of the people act as masters of their own house and the workers must necessarily enjoy full democratic rights; only thus can leaders of the government of the country be put under the supervision of the masses of the people. Since proletarian dictatorship is realized through the communist party, then the party, as one organized by advanced elements of the proletariat should of course give full scope to intraparty democracy, mobilize the revolutionary enthusiasm of all its vanguards, and bring into full play the party's role as a fighting citadel. Only thus can a proletarian dictatorship be prevented from metamorphosing into bureaucratic politics.

Note: Lenin's original words cited in this article are respectively from "Selected Works of Lenin," Vols 2, 3, 4; and "Complete Works of Lenin," Vols 28, 32, 33, 35, 36.

9255

CSO: 4005/939

## PARTY AND STATE

### CLASS STRUGGLE IN ECONOMIC FIELD DESCRIBED

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 16 Jun 82 p 4

[Article by Liu Jie [0491 2638] and He Wenzhuang [0149 2429 8369]: "Take a Clear-Cut Stand in the Frontline of Struggle"]

[Text] Under the correct leadership of the party Central Committee, the people throughout the country have dealt telling blows to the unlawful and criminal activities in the economic field and have scored gratifying success in this field. But as this struggle develops, some people have failed to keep themselves well informed about it. As soon as they were told that this struggle was in the nature of a class struggle against the invasion of the corrosive capitalist ideology, they would speculate that "the days of taking class struggle as the key link are around the corner again"; as soon as they were informed that "the main danger comes from the wavering, rotten and corrupt elements within the ranks of our party rather than from any other directions," they would assume that "the bourgeoisie is right here in the party." This proves that it is absolutely necessary for us to eliminate the pernicious "leftist" influence which has prevented us from gaining a correct understanding of the current situation of class struggle. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the party Central Committee has conducted a scientific analysis of the present stage of class struggle in our country. It has stated that as long as we can study the analysis by the party Central Committee of the current class struggle in our country's economic field in conjunction with the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC," and as long as we can conscientiously make a comparative analysis of the document of the party Central Committee and speeches by leaders at central levels on the struggle against the unlawful and criminal activities in the economic field, and of the erroneous viewpoint included in the so-called "theory of continuing revolution;" we will find it not too difficult to recognize that there are two forms of class struggle that differ in nature from each other.

First, the two theories of class struggle begin with different premises. Using the inaccurate assessment of the overall class situation and the political stature of the party and the state in our country, as a point of departure, the so-called theory of "continuing revolution" represents a fundamental tendency to deny the basic fact that after the socialist transformation was basically completed in our republic, the exploiters as a class disappeared.

There is tendency to misinterpret the continuation of the residual form of class struggle as a full-fledged class struggle and to uphold the class struggle as the key link. Then tendency is neither in line with Marxism nor does it conform to the Chinese reality. At present, the statements on the current class struggle in the economic fields in our country issued by the party Central Committee are based on the scientific analysis of the class situation and class struggle included in the "Historical Resolution" which explicitly states that with the disappearance of exploiters as a class, the class struggle can no longer be considered the principal contradiction despite the fact that under the influence of certain factors at home and abroad, the class struggle may still exist in specific localities and may become acute under certain conditions. Using this theory that class struggle may take place in "specific localities" and "under certain conditions" as a basic point of departure, the party Central Committee has come to regard the criminal economic activities as an important manifestation of class struggle under the new historical condition and has called on all party members to be on the alert against the grave danger and threat of the unlawful and criminal activities in the economic field and the extremely great threat of the corrosive capitalist ideology to the socialist construction program in our country, and never to slacken their efforts in this struggle. This scientific Marxist analysis is entirely correct and conforms to the Chinese conditions. It also reflects a specific tendency to uphold Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. The assumption that "the days of taking class struggle as the key link are around the corner again" is entirely wrong.

Second, the two schools of persuasion have assessed the gravity of class struggle in different ways. At the heart of the theory of "continuing revolution" is a completely erroneous assessment of the gravity of class struggle in our country. An assessment which is based on the assumption that "a large number of representatives of the bourgeoisie, and counterrevolutionary revisionists have infiltrated into the organizations of the party, government and army and all aspects of cultural life, and have captured the leadership of a large number of units from the hands of Marxists and the masses of people," thus overstating the gravity of class struggle. At present, in order to achieve a clear understanding of the origins of the main danger, the party Central Committee has applied the tenets of dialectical materialism as a scientific method to analyze the interaction of various factors at home and abroad, inside and outside the party, and at higher and lower levels from the leadership position of the party in power. The aim is to remind the public of the main danger from within the party, and its causes. This main danger from within the party refers to danger in a "certain sense" but not in a sense that will affect all aspects of life; a danger posed by wavering, corrupt and rotten elements within the party ranks rather than resulting from the development of any counterrevolutionary revisionist line; a danger that comes from some party cadres who have slackened their guard against the "sugar-coated bullets" rather than from the existence of the bourgeoisie within the party. Therefore, the party Central Committee's emphasis on the gravity of class struggle in the economic field is basically different from the viewpoint included in the so-called theory of "continuing revolution."

Third, they define the nature of class struggle in different ways. The proponents of the theory of "continuing revolution" have viewed the "Cultural Revolution" as a "power struggle in which one class will be overthrown by another" while the party Central Committee has unequivocally declared that the current battle against the unlawful and criminal activities in the economic field is a struggle against the erosion of the bourgeois liberalization tendency and the capitalist ideology rather than a power struggle in which "one class will be overthrown by another," and under attack are only a few law-breakers and criminals rather than a full-fledged class force.

Fourth, they have adopted different policies and methods for the development of class struggle. The theory of "continuing revolution" holds that out by carrying out the "Great Cultural Revolution" and by developing the turbulent mass movements and struggles can we solve problems. This approach will certainly lead to the escalation of class struggle, causing serious damage to the party and the country. As the current struggle against the criminal activities in the economic field develops, the party Central Committee has explicitly pointed out: Although the mass line must be upheld, the tactics of the mass movement should no longer be used, nor should the masses be sidely mobilized to check up on everyone as a matter of formality. Persistent efforts must be made to uphold the provisions of party discipline and state laws, and to make the public security organs, the people's procuratorates and the people's courts play a full role in prosecuting every case according to the due process of the law. Only in this way can a correct policy take shape as a vehicle for moving the struggle in the correct direction. From an assessment of such basic divergencies, we can come up with a clear conclusion that the party Central Committee's major policy decision on dealing blows to the unlawful and criminal activities in the economic field is in every sense a product resulting from the correct summation of the historical lessons concerning the "Great Cultural Revolution" through the application of the tenets of Marxism-Leninism. We must consciously rally ourselves behind the political line of the party Central Committee and act as vanguards in this struggle. This is a problem that needs to be straightened out.

9574

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## PARTY AND STATE

### MODEL WORKERS AWARDS MEETING HELD IN JIANGSU

#### Meeting Opens

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 12 Jun 82 p 1

[Article by Zhang Xun [1728 6737], Rong Jie [2837 2234], and Cui Hua [4733 5478].

[Text] The 1981 Jiangsu Provincial Model Worker and Advanced Collective Awards Meeting was solemnly opened on the morning of 11 June at the Nanjing Great Hall of the People.

This awards meeting was a continuation in Jiangsu Province of another distinguished gathering of heroes subsequent to the 1980 awards meeting. The 515 labor heroes and representatives of 227 advanced collectives attending this meeting were labor models and outstanding representatives of advanced collectives on the battlefronts of the province's industry, communications, capital construction, finance and trade, science and technology, education, culture, health, news, publishing and sports. They included both models building socialist material civilization and models in building socialist spiritual civilization. They ranged in age from 85 to 19. The delegates included engineers, experts, medical doctors, performers, and teachers, the proportion of intellectuals increasing from the 16 percent at the last awards meeting to 29 percent at this one, which was unprecedented in previous labor model conferences. Most encouraging was that the ratio of young labor models under 30 years of age increased from the nine percent of the last previous awards conference to 17 percent. Those attending this awards meeting also included advanced model personages from national minorities, staff and workers of Taiwan origin, and overseas Chinese who have returned to China. Comrades Zhou Ze [0719 3419], Ding Keze [0002 0668 0463], Jin Xun [6855 6676], Xu Fangheng [1776 2455 1854], Zhou Yifeng [0719 0001 1496], Liu Hekeng [0491 0735 6342], Hong Peilin [3163 3099 7207], Lo Yunlai [5012 6663 0171], Peng Bo [1756 0514], He Yonghao [0149 0393 4110], Ye Xuchao [0673 5171 2600], Li Zhizhong [2621 1013 0022], Feng Yongyi [6265 3057 5030], Hua Chengyi [5478 6134 0001], Gao Juefu [7559 6030 2421], Ouyang Huilin [2962 7122 1920 2651], Xu Fang [1776 2397], and Liu Zhicheng [0491 1807 6134] attended the awards meeting opening ceremonies. Comrades in charge at the Provincial CCP Committee and from Provincial People's Government commissions, offices, departments, bureaus, and mass organizations concerned also attended the meeting.

Comrade Zhou Yifeng, deputy provincial governor, presided over the meeting.

Deputy provincial governor, Comrade Zhou Ze made the opening speech. He said that in recent years, CCP Central Committee and central leadership cadres had launched a deepgoing socialist labor competition among persons who were advanced in study and who played an advanced role, and they had also issued a series of important instructions. Some time ago, the Central Secretariat had emphatically pointed out that the advanced model persons on all battle fronts were glorious warriors in the forefront of the times. Their advanced ideology and model actions were a driving force for giving impetus to the steady development of China's modern socialist endeavors, and they both guided and impelled an increasing number of people to respect and emulate advanced models, broadly, deeply and steadfastly to launch mass campaigns to study the advanced and catch up with the advanced, and were a major important element in the building of socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization."

Our task at this conference is to diligently study, understand, and manifest this guiding spirit of the CCP Central Committee. We must do as Comrade Hu Yaobang instructed, "compare the gap between oneself and the advanced, and respect the advanced as teachers," conscientiously learning from the advanced, and honestly seeking instruction from the advanced, summarizing and promoting advanced experiences in a seeking for truth in facts. Through the vehicle of this conference, we must make the selection of models, the setting of good examples, regular summarization, assessment and comparison, awarding of advanced units and advanced persons a regular task so that labor competitions of mass comparison, learning from, catching up with, helping, and in turn surpassing, and rational suggestion campaigns will develop more broadly and deeply.

Comrade Zhou Ze said that the Provincial People's Government would give individual awards to the 742 delegates to this awards conference. This included the conferring of the glorious title of "labor model" on 515 advanced individuals, and conferring of the glorious title of "advanced collective" on 227 collectives. In addition, on the basis of their special achievements, individual titles of honor were conferred on 11 of the individual model workers and representatives of advanced collectives, and their advanced achievements and experiences would be made a matter of record and would be exchanged. Through this meeting Zhou Ze said, we want to disseminate to all staff and workers and to the broad masses of people the advanced ideology, fine qualities and valuable experiences of advanced collectives and model workers and give impetus to development in depth of socialist labor competition.

Comrade Zhou Ze said that the political and economic situations in Jiangsu Province are currently very good. However, our duties are very arduous, and we are still facing numerous difficulties. We earnestly hope that all advanced model persons on the battlelines throughout the province will continue to carry forward a spirit of deep love for the motherland, deep love for the party, and deep love for socialism, that they will strive to improve their own political quality, will play a full leading role, a role as mainstay cadres a role as a bridge to unite and stir the broad masses of staff and workers to persevere in carrying out the party's line and each of its programs and policies, will adhere to the four fundamental principles, will carry on and carry forward the revolu-



tionary traditions and fine qualities of China's proletariat, will firmly implant a sense of responsibility of the proletariat being the master of its own affairs, will not flinch from hardships, will struggle arduously, and will devote stringent efforts in accordance with the 10 point program for economic construction to improving economic benefits using the minimum amount of manpower, material, and financial resources to produce more and better products suitable to meet needs, will strive to fulfill the agricultural and industrial production and commodity procurement quotas, the communications and transportation quotas, and the public finance and banking quotas for the province this year, will actively join in attacks on serious crimes in the economic field, and win new victories in the building of the "two civilizations" [material and spiritual civilization].

#### Editorial Comment

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 12 Jun 82 p 1

[Text] The 1981 Jiangsu Provincial Labor Model and Advanced Collective Awards Meeting has opened! We extend high respect and express enthusiastic congratulations to labor models and advanced collectives that stand in the forefront of the building of the "two civilizations."

The advanced model personages from all battlefronts in the province attending this meeting are the vanguard in the province's building of "two civilizations." Their spiritual mien is representative of the socialist moral ethic of the people of Jiangsu Province. The accomplishments they have made are representative of the advanced levels of all constructive endeavors in Jiangsu Province today. Their advanced ideology and advanced experiences are a precious wealth of the people throughout the province. We realize with happiness that those attending this meeting include both a large number of new excellers, who have emerged during recent years, as well as old labor models who have again made new contributions. In particular the large ratio of engineers, experts, medical doctors, performers, teachers, and such intellectual labor models, as well as young labor models under the age of 30 has been unparalleled in previous labor model meetings. This reflects the distinctive features of China's new historical development period, and demonstrates the correctness of the programs, policies and line that have followed from the Third Plenary Session [of the 11th Party Central Committee], the vigorous development of our undertakings, and that there is no lack of successors.

Guiding and giving impetus to the broad masses of people to learn from the advanced and to launch a wideranging, deepgoing, and lasting mass campaign to study the advanced and to catch up with the advanced is an important ingredient in the building of socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization. Advanced model personages on all battle fronts are glorious warriors in the forefront of the times whose advanced ideology and model actions are a driving force that promotes steady development of China's socialist modern endeavors. Inculcating and carrying forward among the masses of the people of an atmosphere of learning from the advanced and catching up with the advanced are powerful means of indoctrinating cadres and the masses in boycotting capitalistic ideological corrosion, and are major indicators of the vigorous progress and steady advance of the nation and the people. Our party and people's government have always attached extremely great importance to the role of advanced person and advanced collectives, and have attached importance to their advanced

ideology and model achievements in encouraging and stimulating the broad masses of people to struggle heroically for the victory of the revolution and construction endeavors. Today's opening of the meeting to honor labor models and advanced collectives is a practical measure on the part of the party and government to support and encourage the advanced. In encouraging advanced models, this meeting gives full play to their roles in building the "two civilizations." For the mobilization of staff and workers and the broad masses of people in the province to take advanced models as an example to be followed, it starts an upsurge for the study of the advanced and for catching up with the advanced, and has extremely important significance for assuring fulfillment of this year's production and various construction tasks.

In our learning from advanced models, most important is to learn their sense of responsibility as masters of our own affairs and the leading cadre spirit. The building of the four modernizations that we are currently carrying out places all sorts of arduous new tasks on all battle fronts, and new situations and new problems emerge in an endless stream requiring our study and solution. Consequently, we particularly must learn from and carry forward the advanced models' concern for the motherland while having their feet firmly planted in their own work in order to realize our common ideals and spirit of devotion. We must learn from and carry forward their revolutionary spirit of daring to defy hardships, of having their feet planted solidly on the ground, and daring to do, exerting themselves with all their heart and might in their individual work positions to make a greater contribution! The various specific advanced experiences of the advanced models have often represented the orientation of development of the trades and industries in which they work or the work they do! We must link our own actual circumstances, diligently study, and promote their advanced experiences in similar trades and industries or similar kinds of jobs, making them become the common property of society. If we just really spread the advanced experiences of advanced persons we will be able to raise our production and work to a new level, and we will be able to greatly advance all of our endeavors.

All party and government leadership organs, trade unions, the Communist Youth League, the Women's Federation, the Literary Federation, the Science Society and such mass groups should use a high degree of political responsibility and take a clear-cut stand to publicize the advanced and support the advanced to inculcate and carry forward among the broad masses of people a fine atmosphere of learning from and catching up with the advanced. All grassroots level units should proceed from their own realities to prominently publicize advanced representative examples in their own units. By publicizing the advanced and educating the broad masses of people to deeply love the party, deeply love socialism, deeply love the motherland, deeply love their own unit, and deeply love the work of their own position, they should correctly handle the relationship among the country, the collective, and individuals, intensify a sense of responsibility at being masters, ingrain an attitude of socialist labor, and carry forward socialist morality and ethics. They should particularly inspire and indoctrinate the broad masses of youth to look up to advanced models and strive to make of themselves people with ideals, virtue, and culture who observe discipline. All levels of leaders are to boldly and assuredly support the advanced, encourage healthy trends, and criticize unhealthy trends and evil

practices of all kinds. As regards those who envy the worthy and are jealous of the able, who themselves do not try to get ahead but do not let others advance, cordial help should be given them to correct their mistaken ideas, and they should be guided to enter the ranks of those who learn from the advanced and catch up with the advanced. Where there is conclusive evidence of a small minority that bears resentment and retaliates, frames, or attacks the advanced, they should be sternly dealt with and in particularly severe instances, responsibility should be fixed under the law. To determine whether leaders do this, it is necessary to see whether advanced persons are accorded respect, whether learning from the advanced has become a common practice, and whether or not there exists a situation of "being an advanced person is no joy and being a labor model is hard to bear." If such problems have been rather well resolved, this shows that the leaders there have not only given lip service but have genuinely supported the advanced.

Learning from the advanced, respecting the advanced, and cherishing the advanced are matters to which we should all give attention. We cannot require advanced people to do things that they feel will bring them hardships or things that are beyond their power to do. Much less can be placed improper or unreasonable requirements on them out of selfish needs. Leaders, for their part, should give serious attention to the training and education of advanced models. They should educate advanced models to adhere to a firm and correct political orientation, handle themselves as one dividing into two, study assiduously, steadily advance themselves, be able to bear the tests of hardships and glory, maintaining an advanced attitude in all environments. They should be taught to unite closely with the masses, be modest and prudent, guard against conceit and impetuosity, be adept at learning from the masses, and be able to progress steadily. They should diligently help advanced models solve their problems of having too many concurrent positions, too many meetings, too many social activities, and too long work hours. They should actively create conditions to help advanced persons improve their political level, their scientific and cultural levels, and their technical and professional abilities, thereby the better to steadily bring into play their role as leaders, their role as mainstay cadres, and their role as bridges.

We must ride the east wind of this meeting to create throughout the province a powerful public opinion and a fine atmosphere for learning from the advanced, catching up and overtaking the advanced, supporting the advanced, and cherishing the advanced, so that the corps of our advanced will steadily expand and the building of our socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization will steadily move ahead.

#### Meeting Closes

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 16 Jun 82 p 1

[Text] The historic 5 day Provincial Model Worker and Advanced Collective Awards Meeting concluded on the afternoon of 15 June at the Nanjing Great Hall of the People. The provincial government awarded 515 comrades with outstanding accomplishments on various battle fronts the title of 1981 labor model, issued decorations and certificates, and awarded individual honorable titles and certificates of honor to 11 of the labor models. It awarded the title of 1981 advanced collective to 227 units and issued them certificates of merit.

Hui Yuyu [1980 3188 1342], Han Peixin [7281 1014 0207], Zhou Ze, Ding Keze, Xin Shaobo [6580 1421 3134], Wang Bingshi [3076 0393 4258], Jin Xun, Liu Lin [2692 2651], Xu Fangheng, Zhou Yifeng, Lo Yunlai, Yang Ting bao [2799 1694 1405], Xie Kedong [6200 0460 2639], Liu Shuxun [0419 2885 8113], Wei Yongyi [7279 3057 5030], Gao Juefu, Xu Fang, and Liu Zhicheng attended the award ceremonies and the closing ceremonies. Officers in charge in all departments, commissions, offices, and mass organizations of the provincial government also attended the meeting.

Deputy Provincial Governor Zhou Yifeng presided over yesterday's meeting.

Deputy Governor Wang Bingshi read "Jiangsu Provincial People's Government Decisions on the Awarding of Titles as 1981 Model Workers and Advanced Collectives."

To the strains of majestic martial music, Provincial Governor Hu Yuyu and individual deputy governors issued, on behalf of the provincial government, awards to 515 model workers and to 227 advanced collectives.

Provincial Governor Hui Yuyu made a speech at the close of the conference.

Hui Yuyu said that since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, under the guidance of the CCP Central Committee's correct line, programs, and policies, all aspects of work in Jiangsu Province during 1981, and particularly the work of economic stabilization and readjustment, had made outstanding achievements, and all undertakings had shown fairly great progress. The winning of these achievements was admittedly the result of the unity of the broad masses of people throughout the province and their joint efforts, but it was also inseparable from the leadership role, the mainstay cadre role, and the role as bridges of advanced collectives and model workers on all fronts and in all realms. In their individual and various positions, comrades had conscientiously and earnestly worked willingly and without being upset by criticisms, devoted to duty and working mindless of self to make important contributions to the country and to the people. That the comrades received government commendations and awards and were given the respect and praise of the party and the masses was entirely as it should be. In this connection, I express hearty congratulations to the representatives of advanced collectives and to all model workers who have received commendations!

After emphasizing the important significance of the launching of a campaign to learn from and catch up with the advanced, Hui Yuyu pointed out that all trades and industries, all battle fronts, and all units should proceed on the basis of their different circumstances and characteristics to organize learning from and catching up with the advanced. The form and content of the campaign should proceed from realities, be flexible and diversified, and lively and vigorous in a seeking after real effectiveness. Attention and emphasis should be given to good organization of intramural comparison and assessment campaigns within trades and industries. For example, industrial enterprises might launch a "six goods" (namely good concurrent concern for country, collective, and individual, good quality goods, good economic benefits, good labor discipline, good civilization production, and good political work) campaign of comparison and assess-

ment for the creation of more "six good enterprises." All trades and industries should summarize and spread existing effective experiences in learning from the advanced and launching competition. Examples are the textile system's linking of antithetical phrases to help learn, 10,000 meters of cloth without flaws competitions, and operating performance campaigns; the machinery system's performances by skilled operators for the purpose of discussion and emulation; the business system's selection of the finest business personnel; and the health system's selection of outstanding nurses campaigns, etc. All require continued summarization, perfection, and improvement, and further efforts at popularization.

At the end, Hui Yuyu expressed hope that advanced collectives and model workers would carry on the fine tradition of being modest and prudent, and guarding against conceit and impetuosity to make new contributions on the basis of existing accomplishments.

The meeting passed a letter that delegates had given to staff and workers throughout the province. (The full text will be published separately.)

#### Governor Hui Yuyu's Speech

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 16 Jun 82 p 1

[Text] In the wake of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, under the guidance of the CCP Central Committee's correct line, programs, and policies, Jiangsu Province in 1981 scored outstanding achievements in work in all fields, particularly in the work of economic stabilization and readjustment, making comparatively great progress in all endeavors. The winning of these achievements was admittedly the result of the unity and common efforts of the broad masses of people throughout the province, but it was also inseparable from the leadership role, the mainstay cadre role, and the role as bridges that advanced collectives and model workers played on all fronts and in all realms. In their individual and various positions, comrades had conscientiously and earnestly worked willingly and without being upset by criticism, devoted to duty and working mindless of self to make important contributions to the country and to the people. That the comrades received government commendations and awards and were given the respect and praise of the party and the masses was entirely as it should be. In this connection, I express hearty congratulations to the representatives of advanced collectives and to all model workers who have received commendations!

Our party and government have always respected advanced models and have attached serious importance to the role played by advanced representative examples. The work emphasis of the entire party has shifted to the building of socialist modernization. Under these new circumstances the role played by advanced collectives and advanced models assumes greater importance. This is because the advanced people who have emerged in socio-economic activities, scientific research activities, and in other social life are outstanding representatives of the masses of people. Their common characteristics are adherence to the four basic principles, fervent love for the party, fervent love for the motherland, and fervent love for socialism; they regard the four modernizations as their bounden duty and place the welfare of the country and the people in first

place; they are concerned about the overall situation, cooperate and give mutual assistance, and possess a highly developed spirit of organizational discipline and collectivism; they do not fear hardships, bravely shoulder heavy responsibilities, revere science, assiduously train, diligently study, and seek truth. All these things are concrete manifestations of the revolutionary spirit and outstanding quality of the proletariat; they are all concrete manifestations of socialist spiritual civilization. Consequently, in the course of our building socialist modernity, it is necessary to carry forward throughout society the good experiences, good ideology, good work style, and good moral character of advanced collectives and model persons so that they will become a great driving force that gives impetus to the building of socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization. We believe that under the leadership of the party and government advanced collectives and model persons will certainly be able to rely on and unite with the broad masses of workers, and strive to master advanced science and technology, to increase labor productivity rates, actively create socialist material wealth, and gradually improve the people's living standards.

In accordance with the spirit the CCP Central Committee directives for deepgoing development of a movement to learn from the advanced and catch up with the advanced, it is necessary, first of all, to give widespread publicity to the advanced experiences of advanced collectives and models to create in society at large a powerful atmosphere of honor at being advanced and honor in learning from the advanced. Since the Third Plenary Session, as the party's style and the social atmosphere have gradually taken turns for the better, an atmosphere of learning from and catching up with the advanced is building. Nevertheless, in the treatment accorded advanced persons, there are still some unhealthy trends and evil practices. Examples include reproach of those who create advanced norms, ridicule of those who find pleasure in helping others, envy of those who receive commendations, and attacks on those who adhere to principles. The appearance of these kinds of odd phenomena results largely from failure to thoroughly eradicate the pernicious effects of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique. The narrowly selfish and backward ideology of small producers in the old society still exists, and we must resolutely halt and correct this. All levels of party organization, the people's government, and mass organizations are to strengthen ideological and political work, and educate the broad masses of cadres to respect, cherish, support, and emulate the advanced ideology and model actions of advanced models, boldly and assuredly promote healthy tendencies, propagandize the advanced and support the advanced, painstakingly and carefully educate the backward, and help the backward. With regard to the extremely small number of people for whom conclusive evidence exists of holding resentments and retaliating, slandering, and attacking others, strict disposition must be made on the basis of individual circumstances, and responsibility fixed before the law. All levels of leaders should also be adept at training and helping advanced units and model workers, be routinely concerned about model worker ideology and work, organize them to study, and help them steadily increase their ideological and political consciousness, and their technical vocational levels. Care should also be exercised so that model workers do not serve concurrently in too many positions and so they do not become mired in social movements and meetings that they find it difficult to deal with, and so that they have ample time and bountiful energy to do the work of the positions they are in and constantly improve.

In launching a deepgoing movement to learn from the advanced and to catch up with the advanced, all battle fronts, all trades and industries, and all units should organize to study and catch up with the advanced on the basis of different circumstances and characteristics. Both form and content of the campaign should proceed from realities, be flexible and varied, and vigorous and lively with concern for real effectiveness.

In launching a deepgoing campaign to learn from the advanced and to catch up with the advanced, advanced collectives and advanced models will also be required to play a better leading role. It is necessary to adhere to the "concept of one dividing into two and going up to a higher plane." The advanced and the backward are relatively so, and the backward frequently have some strengths meriting study by the advanced. Everything in the world is always steadily developing and changing. "On the Chang Jiang, the waves behind drive those forces;" "indigo blue is extracted from the indigo plant but is bluer than the plant it comes from;" and "latecomers surpass the oldtimers." These are phenomena that accord with the laws of development of things. For this reason, advanced collectives and model workers should always maintain the fine traditions of humility and prudence, guarding against arrogance and impetuosity, correctly handling themselves, and carrying forward a spirit of "no self-satisfaction in the face of honor, and looking for shortcomings in the face of one's accomplishments." going on from existing accomplishments to make new contributions. In addition, it is necessary to be adept at unifying and motivating comrades all around, helping everybody to make progress together in ideology, techniques, management, and vocationally, and, in the course of helping and spurring on, to use strengths to compensate for weaknesses for mutual advancement and common improvement. Still another requirement of advanced collectives, labor models, and advanced workers is the hope that everyone will further study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, that they will study the party's line, programs and policies, and will steadily improve their own political consciousness and correct their own direction of advance. They should also strive to study culture, to study technology, to study science, and to study management to improve their ability to build the four modernizations and to scale the peaks of science and technology.

Comrades, the first half of 1982 will soon be over. During this year, under the correct leadership of the CCP Central Committee and the State Council, throughout the province all levels of party organization, the people's government, and the people have continued diligent implementation of the line, programs, and policies that have followed from the Third Plenary Session. They have carried out the directive from the CCP Central Committee to take in one hand the building of a material civilization and in the other hand the building of a spiritual civilization. They have carried out Comrade Zhao Ziyang's 10 point program for economic construction, have solidly done a large amount of work, and have made new advances in many directions. In agriculture a good summer crop has been harvested and it is estimated that output of wheat, barley, and naked barley will total more than 15 billion jin, about six percent more than last year. Rapeseed output will total 9 million dan, about 30 percent more than last year. In industrial production, serious attention has begun to be given to improving economic

effectiveness. Between January and May, gross output value of the province's industry was more than 19.9 billion yuan, a 23.2 percent increase over the same period last year. As regards the situation of economic benefits, a look at the report published by the State Economic and Statistical Bureau shows improvements have begun. The fiscal revenue situation for the province for the first 5 months of the year has been comparatively good showing a 15.3 percent increase over the same period last year. New achievements have also been won in cultural, educational, health, science and technology, and athletics work. The fight against serious criminal activities in the economic field has also been launched throughout the province and has received the support of the broad masses of people. The "five concerns and four beautification" campaign is in process of gradually deepening from a foundation of the "All the People Civilization and Courtesy Month" campaign. Both party style and social ethics have further improved. Nevertheless, looked at in terms of the year as a whole, the bulk of serious work to be done will come during the last half of the year; tasks are rather arduous, and difficulties numerous. Of particular importance is the energy shortage and the very great difficulties in meeting requirements of all places and all activities. We positively cannot be satisfied with the achievements we have already won, but rather must redouble efforts, doing a better job during the last half of the year than during the first half of the year.

We hope that advanced cooperatives and model workers on all frontlines throughout the province will carry home the spirit of this meeting, that they will take home the advanced ideology and advanced experiences they have learned, and that they will disseminate them widely among the broad masses of the people to start an upsurge of learning from the advanced and surpassing the advanced on every frontline. We hope that the broad masses of staff and workers throughout the province will respect the request of Comrade Hu Yaobang to "compare one's shortcomings with the advanced and to respect the advanced as teachers," will diligently study and promote advanced experiences, will work ceaselessly and unremittingly from the foundation of achievements made during the first half of the year, will unite and struggle to fulfill at a high level and with high quality this year's various tasks for the year as a whole, and will take a "new road," and develop new situations.

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## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### ON PLUNGING INTO THE THICK OF LIFE

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 23 May 82 p 5

[Article by Zheng Bonong [6774 0130 6593]: "On Plunging into the Thick of Life"]

[Text] Comrade Mao Zedong said that the artist should integrate with the masses of the new era. This is an important contribution to the concept of materialist literature and art made by Comrade Mao Zedong in applying the viewpoint of practice in the realm of literature and art. According to Comrade Mao Zedong's theory, the artist should throw himself into the torrent of the life of the masses, observe, learn and study life from the standpoint of the masses of the people and the proletariat and on this foundation, through the method of typicalness, create works of art which draw on life and are higher than life. These works are the concentrated reflection of the thoughts and feelings of the masses and conversely they also play a role in people's spiritual world encouraging the masses to move history forward. The above explication of Comrade Mao Zedong's, scientifically explained the correct path for the artist to use dynamically in understanding and expressing life.

Recently there has been some controversy in the literary and art world concerning the slogan "plunge into life." I think that in the past there was some bias in our specific interpretation and practice of this slogan. All revolutionaries should plunge into the life of the masses but is there some particularity about an artist plunging into this life? Of course, we should not exaggerate this particularity. The artist should be a part of life as a member of the masses and not as a special "observer". First of all, he should be concerned with the suffering of the masses and not primarily with his own work. Plunging into life solely to collect material, frequently results in being unable to write a convincing work. But it should be understood also that the writer plunges into life ultimately to make sure he does a good job of his work. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Our writers and artists must do their own tasks, but for these to understand and be familiar with people is their first job." He called attention to the special characteristics of literature and art. When the artist plunges into life he should strive to become familiar with people, to understand people, to understand their nature, fate, thoughts and feelings, and the complex and subtle relations between them. He should not stand outside as an observer but through sharing the fate and the lives of the masses should further understand the soul of man and his inner world. If he does not make a concerted effort to understand people and become familiar with them, how can he create outstanding

works? In the past we often did not take this feature into consideration. Another defect was taking a lockstep approach to plunging into life, as though plunging into life was just staying in one place for a long time. Staying in one place for a long period of time may be a way to get in touch with life, but one cannot demand that all people use this method to get in touch with life. The writer needs a point of understanding, and an area of understanding; he needs to become familiar with the grassroots level, but he also needs to understand the leadership level. Social life is a unified entity and a complete process and it is hard to avoid having a narrow view if one is limited to one point. The above biases, I think, are biases of the specific interpretation and specific practice under the influence of leftist thinking in the past and are not biases inherent in the slogan itself. This slogan is scientific. In sum, over the past several decades this slogan has promoted the flourishing of literature and art and it has played an enormously positive role.

Plunging into the thick of life must include the following two ideas: first, the artist should constantly throw himself into the mainstream of the masses' life of struggle and always be the masses' loyal spokesman; second, the artist should achieve a depth of understanding of society and a depth of artistic representation through participating in the social reality of the masses. Being thorough requires a certain amount of time, but increasing the amount of time does not necessarily lead to deeper insight. What is considered insight? Insight is achieving unity of the subjective and the objective, it is achieving unity with the thoughts and feelings of the masses. Insight in theoretical thinking is grasping the inner associations of things and mastering the nature of things, but this alone is not enough. Nature is hidden within things. Theoretical thinking can strip away the external form of things and directly generalize the nature of things. Artistic thinking embodies the complex associations of things through the particulars of actual life. Therefore, for the artist to master life thoroughly, he should master both the richness and variety of life, and the lively and subtle variety of forms of life; as well as mastering the inner associations of life which are hidden in things and which cannot be seen. We cannot simply see plunging into life in terms only of form, as if adopting a rather difficult form is considered plunging. Nor can we look on plunging into life cheaply, as if once one had gone among the masses that was considered plunging. Plunging into life is not easy. Some people live an entire generation among the masses, but never achieve the stage of plunging. In addition to having an intimate understanding of his subject, the artist must also meet other conditions if he is to achieve a thorough understanding of life. For example, the guidance of a correct world view, a certain theoretical accomplishment, rich life experience, the necessary social background, etc. And in terms of literary and artistic creation, correctly to achieve thoroughness is to have an independently arrived at new discovery of life. Art is a creative work and each work of art should be a unique new work. How can a work which cannot provide people something new in understanding and appreciation of beauty be considered to have vitality?

Some comrades raise this question: People all have a certain amount of life experience, so why is it necessary to make a special issue of plunging into life? True, each person has his own life. However, first, for the writer, social life is the raw material of his creativity, and it is his job to help people understand life correctly through artistic images. It is no wonder that he should

have to understand life more and more thoroughly than the ordinary person! He should not only understand the things around him, but he should also understand his entire time, and master even broader and richer life materials. Second, the plunging into life of which we are speaking refers to plunging into the struggling life of the masses of the people. The writer can depict various people and events in society and he can depict history, but whatever the subject, he must plunge into the masses. This is not only a matter of drawing creative materials, but also a matter of becoming one with the masses in thought and feeling and drawing spiritual strength from the masses. Even if he writes about a historical subject he should write from the viewpoint of the people and express the spirit of the time reflecting the concept of right and wrong from the perspective of the people and suited to the needs of the masses.

Plunging into the thick of life this question must be considered: How does one understand and express the clash of contradictions in life? In recent times, some works avoid reality and avoid contradiction and show a tendency toward no conflict. Either they make life flat or they are simply removed from reality and focus on romantic subjects and historical stories. This is not to say that romantic and historical topics should not be written about, but that these subjects should not be described to avoid reflecting reality. The above phenomenon I think really merits some attention. We should strive vigorously to give expression to the new people and new atmosphere in life, and use artistic forms to encourage people to rouse themselves and forge ahead. But we also should not strip away its reflection of the contradictions of life and even less we should not oppose the description of these contradictions. It is impossible to reflect life correctly if you do not reflect contradictions; it is impossible to reflect the times correctly if you do not reflect the contradictions in life. The people do not approve of avoiding contradictions and covering up contradictions. Our party has also repeatedly called on writers to be courageous in disclosing the contradictions in life. In his speech to the Forum on Drama Creation, Comrade Hua Yaobang said: "I approve of you exposing ruthlessly the mistaken behavior and thinking which obstructs the advance of the four modernizations when writing about the advance of the four modernizations." Recently Comrade Hu Qiaomu also said: "I hope writers will emphasize even more showing the struggle of the people in building a new life today. This is definitely not advocating that you put on a song and dance act and even less that you write about the traditional sentimental subjects of the past. The road to building a new life, past, present and future, is always bumpy, it is on an enormous scale and lengthy in time; and it involves the extraordinarily complex and hugh struggle of the process of life of every person in the nation and can advance only by overcoming the difficulties and dangers of the human and natural worlds." I think we should encourage writers to face reality, be loyal to reality, and conscientiously and thoroughly describe the clash of contradictions in life, and use artistic form to help people understand correctly and resolve actively the contradictions in life. In our country, revolutionary and progressive things are the mainstream. Only if the writer is truly loyal to life can he write about it. Creation requires correct theoretical guidance, but correct theory cannot take the place of the writer's own life experience. For the writer to understand life and the times he must rely on theoretical study but first of all he should rely on his own experience. Let writers plunge into life and observe, experience, think! Only if they truly plunge into life can they correctly and incisively reflect the new times.